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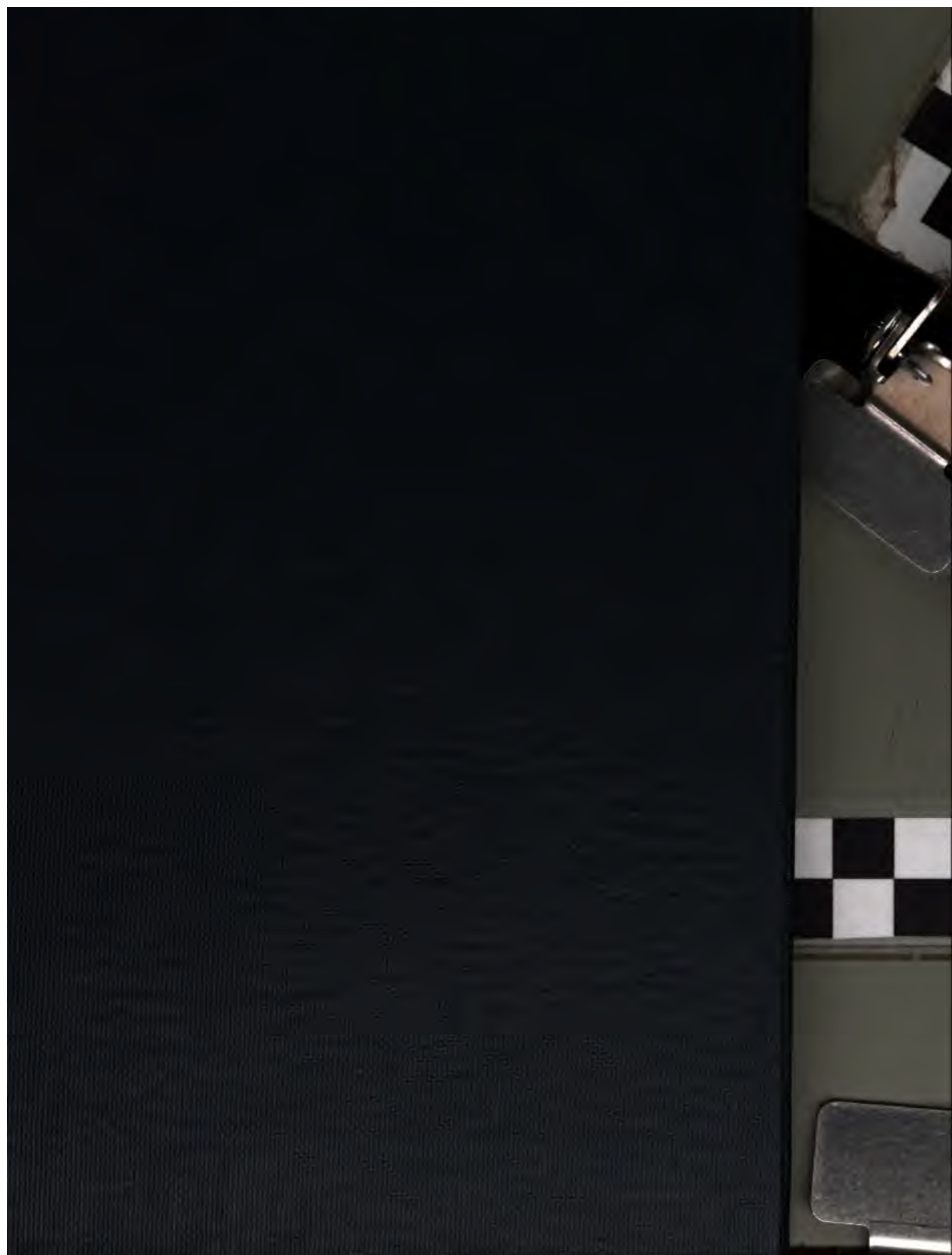
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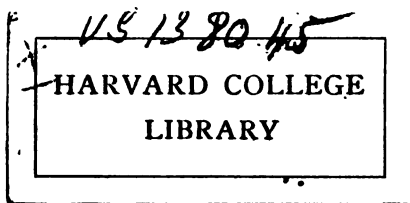


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"THE FIRST AMERICAN"

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**HISTORY
OF THE
REPUBLICAN PARTY)
IN ILLINOIS**

1854-1912

**WITH A
REVIEW OF THE AGGRESSIONS OF
THE SLAVE-POWER**

**By
CHARLES A. CHURCH**
MEMBER OF STAFF OF
REGISTER-GAZETTE AND AUTHOR OF
HISTORY OF ROCKFORD

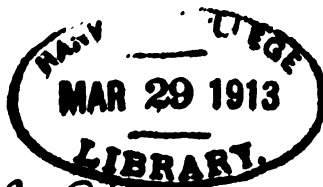



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Rockford, Ill.

**THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED
TO THE PROPOSITION THAT EVERY
CITIZEN OF ILLINOIS SHOULD
BE FAMILIAR WITH
HER HISTORY**

Foreword

THE continuous ascendancy of the Republican party in Illinois has few parallels in the histories of the several states. In 1856 William H. Bissell was elected governor of the commonwealth as a Republican. In the fifty-six years that have elapsed, with the exception of two years, from 1893 to 1895, the party has been in control of the legislature or executive department of the state government; and during nearly all of that period the party has had the governor and both branches of the general assembly. The story of the Republican party in Illinois is therefore the political history of the state from the days of Fremont and Dayton.

In 1854 Senator Douglas, of Illinois, led the movement for the repeal of the Missouri compromise, one of the landmarks of freedom which had been held sacred and inviolate. The Republican party was the organized protest of the national conscience against this act of sacrilege. In 1858 Illinois was the battle-ground of giants, and the gaze of the nation was intently fixed upon Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln. The contest was primarily for a seat in the United States senate, but it was essentially a struggle between two civilizations; between the old order of things that was about to pass away, and a new dispensation of liberty. These facts give special interest and value to the history of the great awakening in Illinois.

Many interesting details are necessarily omitted from a volume of this kind; and in his treatment of the subject the author does not claim absolute accuracy of statement nor

infallibility of judgment. He is confident, however, that he has produced not only a reliable manual of information, but a rational interpretation of the causes underlying the historic movement. No attempt has been made in this history to include the election of justices of the appellate and supreme courts. There has been a tendency to separate the judiciary from partisan politics, and this policy has received popular approval.

The author is confident that no other work covering this particular field has ever been published. There have been many general histories of Illinois, to which the author acknowledges his obligations. Several of these works are voluminous and expensive, none of them are brought down to date, and several are out of print.

These facts justify the belief that the "History of the Republican Party in Illinois" will be welcomed as a worthy accession to the history of this imperial commonwealth.

CHARLES A. CHURCH.

Rockford, Illinois, September 9, 1912.

Contents

CHAPTER I

BEGINNINGS OF SLAVERY—ENGLAND FORCES EVIL UPON THE COLONIES—SLAVERY EXCLUDED FROM NEW TERRITORY —COMPROMISES OF THE CONSTITUTION—THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.	Page 1
--	--------

CHAPTER II

RISE OF THE ABOLITIONISTS—ANNEXATION OF TEXAS— WAR WITH MEXICO—PARITY OF SLAVE AND FREE STATES —WILMOT PROVISIO—GENERAL TAYLOR ELECTED PRES- IDENT—HENRY CLAY'S COMPROMISE MEASURES. 7	7
---	---

CHAPTER III

THE INAUGURATION OF FRANKLIN PIERCE—FIRST NEBRASKA BILL—REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE—SENA- TOR DOUGLAS' MOTIVE—GREAT MORAL AWAKENING— ORIGIN OF NAME REPUBLICAN—THE ROCKFORD CON- VENTION—POLITICS AT THE STATE FAIR—NO CONTEM- PORARY REPORT—LINCOLN'S AMBITION—THE NOVEN- BER ELECTIONS—LYMAN TRUMBULL ELECTED UNITED STATES SENATOR.	15
---	----

CHAPTER IV

EDITORIAL CONFERENCE AT DECATUR—STATE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION AT BLOOMINGTON—THE PLATFORM—LIN- COLN'S LOST SPEECH—REPUBLICANS ELECT STATE TICKET.	29
--	----

CHAPTER V

THE DRED SCOTT DECISION—THE STRUGGLE FOR KANSAS— SUMNER'S SPEECH ON THE CRIME AGAINST KANSAS— SUMNER ASSAULTED BY BROOKS—DOUGLAS BREAKS WITH BUCHANAN—THE ENGLISH BILL—ILLINOIS RE- PUBLICANS IN DILEMMA—LINCOLN'S "HOUSE DIVIDED" SPEECH.	38
---	----

CHAPTER VI

LINCOLN CHALLENGES DOUGLAS TO DISCUSS THE SLAVERY ISSUE—DISPUTANTS COMPARED—FIRST JOINT DEBATE AT OTTAWA.	46
---	----

CHAPTER VII

SECOND DEBATE AT FREEPORT—LINCOLN SHOWS CONSERV- ATISM, BURNS HIS BRIDGES BEHIND HIM, AND ASKS DOUGLAS FOUR QUESTIONS—"LITTLE GIANT" ANSWERS THEM AND IS SWEEPED FROM HIS MOORING.	53
---	----

CHAPTER VIII

LAST DEBATE AT ALTON—DOUGLAS ASSAILS "HOUSE DIVIDED" DOCTRINE AND DEFIES BUCHANAN—LINCOLN PUTS QUESTION ON MORAL BASIS—THE ELECTIONS—DOUGLAS WINS—A FINAL COMPARISON.	63
--	----

CHAPTER IX

ILLINOIS REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION OF 1860—RICHARD YATES NOMINATED FOR GOVERNOR—NATIONAL REPUB- LICAN CONVENTION—LINCOLN NOMINATED—INCI- DENTS OF THE CAMPAIGN—LINCOLN ELECTED AND IN- AUGURATED—EARLY EVENTS OF 1861.	73
--	----

CHAPTER X

OUTBREAK OF CIVIL WAR—DOUGLAS' SPEECH AT SPRINGFIELD —CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION—CONSTITUTION RE-	
---	--

Contents

ix

PUDIATED—REVERSES OF 1862—LEGISLATURE PRO-
ROGUED BY GOVERNOR YATES—OGLESBY NOMINATED
FOR GOVERNOR—LINCOLN RENOMINATED—COLONEL
INGERSOLL'S PRAYER—THE ELECTIONS. . . . 85

CHAPTER XI

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR OGLESBY—THIRTEENTH
AMENDMENT—REPEAL OF BLACK LAWS—ELECTIONS OF
1866—TRUMBULL RE-ELECTED SENATOR—GENERAL
GRANT ELECTED PRESIDENT—ADMINISTRATION OF GOV-
ERNOR PALMER—CONSTITUTION OF 1870—GENERAL
LOGAN ELECTED UNITED STATES SENATOR. . . . 96 —

CHAPTER XII

RECONSTRUCTION COMPLETED—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1872—
RISE AND FALL OF LIBERAL REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT—
NAST'S CARTOONS—RE-ELECTION OF GENERAL GRANT.
. 110

CHAPTER XIII

INAUGURATION OF GENERAL OGLESBY AND HIS ELECTION TO
THE UNITED STATES SENATE—GOVERNOR JOHN L.
BEVERIDGE—REVERSES OF 1874—HAYES-TILDEN CON-
TEST OF 1876—GENERAL HURLBUT GETS COLONEL
INGERSOLL TO NOMINATE BLAINE FOR PRESIDENT—
HURLBUT WARNS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS—THE ELEC-
TIONS—DAVID DAVIS ELECTED SENATOR—CAMPAIGN OF
1878—LOGAN RETURNS TO THE SENATE. . . . 119

CHAPTER XIV

FAMOUS GARFIELD CAMPAIGN OF 1880—FIGHT OVER THE
UNIT RULE IN STATE CONVENTION—CONTESTING

DELEGATES ADMITTED AT CHICAGO—THE ELECTIONS— ESTRANGEMENT BETWEEN GRANT AND WASHBURN— CAMPAIGN OF 1882—CULLOM ELECTED SENATOR.	135
--	-----

CHAPTER XV

BLAINE AND LOGAN CAMPAIGN OF 1884—GOVERNOR HAMIL- TON SAVES UNITED STATES SENATE TO THE REPUBLICANS —GENERAL LOGAN RE-ELECTED SENATOR—HIS DEATH —CHARLES B. FARWELL SUCCEEDS HIM.	151
--	-----

CHAPTER XVI

HARRISON CAMPAIGN OF 1888—CULLOM RETURNED TO THE SENATE—REVERSES OF 1890 AND 1892—ELECTION OF CLEVELAND AND ALTGELD—PALMER CHOSEN SENATOR.	163
---	-----

CHAPTER XVII

REVOLUTION OF 1894—MCKINLEY CAMPAIGN OF 1896— ILLINOIS A PIVOTAL STATE—TANNER ELECTED GOVERN- OR—CULLOM RETURNED TO THE SENATE—WILLIAM E. MASON ELECTED SENATOR—LYMAN J. GAGE IN MCKIN- LEY'S CABINET.	175
--	-----

CHAPTER XVIII

REPEAL OF THE "ALLEN BILL"—JOHN HAY SECRETARY OF STATE—RICHARD YATES ELECTED GOVERNOR—RE-ELEC- TION OF MCKINLEY—CULLOM RETURNED TO SENATE— HOPKINS CHOSEN SENATOR—CANNON SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE.	187
--	-----

CHAPTER XIX

PROLONGED GUBERNATORIAL DEADLOCK OF 1904—NOMINATION OF DENEEN—STRUGGLE TO SECURE DIRECT PRIMARY ELECTION LAW—DEATH OF CONGRESSMAN HITT—CULLOM RE-ELECTED SENATOR.	199
---	-----

CHAPTER XX

CAMPAIGN OF 1908—WILLIAM LORIMER ELECTED SENATOR—CORRUPTION SCANDAL—MEMBERS OF LEGISLATURE CONFESS ACCEPTING BRIBES—LORIMER EXPELLED FROM THE UNITED STATES SENATE.	211
---	-----

CHAPTER XXI

CAMPAIGN OF 1910—SPECIAL ELECTION SUBMITTING QUESTIONS OF REFERENDUM AND RECALL—STATE-WIDE CIVIL SERVICE LAW AND CORRUPT PRACTICE ACT.	219
--	-----

CHAPTER XXII

CAMPAIGN OF 1912—FIRST PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY—ROOSEVELT WINS—DENEEN RENOMINATED FOR GOVERNOR—SHERMAN DEFEATS CULLOM FOR SENATOR—DEATH OF SECRETARY ROSE—C. J. DOYLE APPOINTED.	222
--	-----

CHAPTER XXIII

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION AT CHICAGO—RENOMINATION OF TAFT AND SHERMAN—PROGRESSIVES BOLT AND NOMINATE ROOSEVELT AND MARSHALL—A FINAL WORD.	231
--	-----

Portraits

"The First American"	Frontispiece
Lyman Trumbull	28
Stephen A. Douglas	56
Richard Yates	76
Richard J. Oglesby	96
Ulysses S. Grant	143
John A. Logan	159
John M. Palmer	170
Joseph G. Cannon	197
Charles S. Deneen	207
Shelby M. Cullom	226

CHAPTER I

BEGINNINGS OF SLAVERY—ENGLAND FORCES EVIL UPON THE
COLONIES—SLAVERY EXCLUDED FROM NEW TERRITORY
—COMPROMISES OF THE CONSTITUTION—THE MISSOURI
COMPROMISE.

REPRESENTATIVE government is necessarily administered through political organization. Parties, like nations, may have their rise, decline and fall; but others will speedily emerge from their ruins. James A. Garfield did not state the case too strongly when he said: "Organizations may change or dissolve, but when parties cease to exist, liberty will perish." Parties are born, not made, and they have their own organic life and individuality, which outlive the men who make up their rank and file. Early in the administration of President Washington two general principles of government became incarnated in Hamilton and Jefferson. They represented the two poles of political thought. The one believed in the centralization of power; the other was the apostle of individualism. Amid all the mutations of a century and a quarter these conceptions of government have been in the forefront, and the lines were never more sharply drawn than they are today. There may be so-called "eras of good feeling," times when the claims of party are disregarded; but these are transitional periods rather than a normal status. When any established order is about to pass away, there will surely follow a re-alignment upon new and living issues.

The history of the Republican party has for sixty years, with two brief intervals, been the political history of the

nation. Illinois has from the first been a stronghold of Republicanism. Only once since 1856 has the enemy successfully stormed the citadel. The beginnings of the Republican party in Illinois is a story of thrilling interest; it is full of the romance of history. The heroes were not Quixotic adventurers waging fierce battles with imaginary foes. They were men of heroic mold, whom the old Norsemen would have enrolled among the heroes in the halls of Valhalla. They were knights of true chivalry, who drew their swords for freedom, liberty and law. The rise of this party to power will make its appeal to the student of state history, irrespective of his personal opinion. A brief survey of earlier political history will afford the necessary background.

African slavery existed in the United States nearly two and a half centuries. In August, 1619, a Dutch vessel entered James river with twenty slaves. They were purchased by the colonists, and their offspring endured perpetual servitude. One year later the pilgrims landed on Plymouth rock. Thus there were transplanted to the virgin soil of the new world, almost simultaneously, the civilizations of the Puritan and the cavalier.

From 1619 until 1775, a period of one hundred and fifty-six years, the colonial policy of England was under the control of the friends of slavery and the slave trade. Her merchants and manufacturers quickly caught the spirit that emanated from parliament and the throne. Under the fostering care of the mother country, slavery flourished in the colonies. More than three hundred thousand bondsmen were imported; and colonial legislation designed to restrict or prohibit the traffic was nullified by the home government. Henry Wilson tells the story in a single sentence: "British avarice planted slavery in America; British legislation sanc-

tioned and maintained it; British statesmen sustained and guarded it."

When the declaration of independence was promulgated by the continental congress in 1776 African slavery had been established in every one of the thirteen colonies.

The treaty of Paris was signed in 1783, by which the independence of the colonies was acknowledged. Between the thirty-first and forty-seventh parallels of latitude was a vast unorganized territory that was conceded to be embraced within the limits of the new republic. This domain was claimed by the states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia, by virtue of their respective royal charters. These claims were resisted by the other states, which contended that the territory which had been acquired in a common struggle should inure to the good of all. Virginia solved the problem by magnanimously surrendering the larger portion of her territory. Other states relinquished their shadowy claims. By these means a magnificent national domain was created beyond the Alleghanies.

The slavery question quickly came to the front. In 1784 the continental congress accepted from the Old Dominion a deed of cession of all the lands claimed by her northwest of the Ohio river. A select committee prepared a plan of government for this territory and for any other domain that might be subsequently ceded. This plan provided that slavery should not be permitted after the year 1800. This provision failed to pass and thus Liberty suffered defeat in her very first contest with the Slave-Power. This measure would have secured to freedom not only the great Northwest territory, but also Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi.

In 1787 a congressional committee, of which Nathan Dane

was chairman, reported an ordinance for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio river. It provided that slavery should be forever prohibited. This ordinance was promptly passed by congress and the territory now comprised within the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, was forever consecrated to freedom. In 1789 the first congress under the constitution passed a bill, without opposition in either house, which gave emphatic sanction to the ordinance of 1787. Freedom had now won a victory in the outposts of civilization, which proved an impregnable Gibraltar. This was the first territory over which the general government had exclusive control and the prompt prohibition of slavery therein is a significant fact.

When the constitutional convention assembled in 1787, slavery existed in twelve of the thirteen states. Massachusetts had become a free state through a decision of her supreme court, based on a clause in her bill of rights in her new constitution. The compromises on the slavery question made possible the adoption of the constitution and the founding of a federal government. Without these concessions it would have then been impossible for the thirteen struggling states to form "a more perfect union." There were three compromises: The African slave trade was not to be prohibited within twenty years; three-fifths of the slaves were to be counted in the apportionment of representatives in congress; and fugitives from service were to be returned to their owners. In accordance with the last named condition congress enacted in 1793 a fugitive slave law, which remained in force until 1850.

The fathers of the republic did not desire to perpetuate slavery. On the contrary, they believed that by the provisions of the constitution they had placed the evil where the

public could rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. These hopes might have been realized had it not been for the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney in 1792. This machine greatly facilitated the preparation of cotton for market. The demand for slave labor was greatly enhanced. Slavery, instead of being placed in process of extinction, fastened its poisonous coils upon the young republic.

Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia made cessions of southern territory to the general government, but each exacted the stipulation that slavery should not be prohibited. From this domain were created the slave states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi. Thus the Ohio river became the dividing line between slavery and freedom. "North of it freedom was forever decreed. South of it slavery was firmly established." The republic became half slave and half free, but it could not in this way permanently endure.

The next struggle came without warning. The north and the south suddenly found themselves arrayed against each other with relentless energy. The fates seemed to conspire against freedom. The purchase of Louisiana appeared to offer a wide field for the expansion of southern principles. This vast domain beyond the Father of Waters was like a vision of Canaan to the slavery propagandists. Stimulated by the use of the cotton gin, cotton planting had become within thirty years the most remunerative industry in the south. At this juncture the struggle over the admission of Missouri appears on the horizon.

The "Missouri question" formally appeared in congress in 1818. When the bill for the admission of Missouri as a slave state came before the house, James Tallmadge, Jr., a member from New York, offered an amendment which

would ultimately destroy slavery in the new state. The house passed the bill with the amendment, but the senate refused to concur. In the following year the house again passed the bill in the same form. The senate voted to admit Maine provided Missouri was admitted as a slave state. The house rejected the proposal. At this point Jesse B. Thomas, a senator from Illinois, offered what is known as the famous "Missouri compromise." This feature forever prohibited slavery north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes in all territory acquired from France by the Louisiana purchase. The house agreed to the compromise and Missouri was given permission to enter the union as a slave state, subject to the compromise, which formed a part of the enabling act.

The people of Missouri, however, were disconcerted at the prospect of three adjoining free states. In a resentful mood, and led by extremists, they inserted a provision in the state constitution requiring the legislature to enact laws to prevent free negroes or mulattoes from coming into the state. A bitter parliamentary struggle ensued in congress and there were frequent threats of dissolving the union. After a prolonged contest, and through the instrumentality of a joint committee, a second compromise was effected. The admission of Missouri was secured upon condition that her legislature should never enact a law enforcing the odious provision in her constitution. Missouri made a virtue of necessity and promptly but not gracefully accepted the humiliating condition. Thus was effected a prolonged truce in the "irrepressible conflict."

CHAPTER II

RISE OF THE ABOLITIONISTS—ANNEXATION OF TEXAS—
WAR WITH MEXICO—PARITY OF SLAVE AND FREE STATES
—WILMOT PROVISIO—GENERAL TAYLOR ELECTED PRES-
IDENT—HENRY CLAY'S COMPROMISE MEASURES.

MISSOURI came into the union as the twenty-fourth state. With the settlement of this question the anti-slavery agitation quickly subsided. The north believed it had secured to freedom all the territory above the compromise line. The south insisted upon the right to create new slave states below that boundary. This implied understanding was accepted by the great political parties, and for the next twenty years there was no discussion of the slavery issue in their national conventions.

Meanwhile the leaven of abolitionism was at work. A radical group of reformers arose, pledged to the utter overthrow of slavery by any lawful means. They recognized the limitations imposed by the constitution, and urged only such reforms as clearly came within the scope of congress. These men demanded the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and in the forts, arsenals and dock yards; the prohibition of the interstate slave trade; that American ships sailing on the high seas should not be allowed to carry slaves as cargo. These Abolitionists would not assist in the return of fugitive slaves because it did violence to their conscience. Among the leaders of this movement were James G. Birney, William Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, John G. Whittier and Charles Sumner.

The Abolitionists were a leavening rather than a directly constructive force. They pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor to the eternal law of justice and believed the universe was pledged to their cause. The reformer and his reform rarely succeed in the same age; but time vindicated the faith of these prophets. The method of deliverance was yet to be revealed. The Arbiter of nations was so to execute his sovereign will that the wrath of man should praise him. This heroic band of idealists assailed wickedness in high places. It was a time when Truth was on the scaffold, and Wrong on the throne. But these men had a vision of truth like unto the stone cut without hands from the mountain, in the vision of Daniel's king, that broke in pieces the great image, and filled the whole earth.

During the decade from 1840 to 1850 the Slave-Power became aggressive. It dictated the policy of the nation. Texas revolted from Mexico in 1835, declared itself independent in 1836, and in the following year its independence was recognized by the United States. Americans emigrated to that province and became the dominant power in the young republic. Thenceforward the annexation of Texas was received with more or less favor in the United States; but it was not until 1844 that it became a political issue. The scheme had many supporters in the Democratic party in 1836, but the leaders were afraid of it. In 1840 Mr. Van Buren, who was again aspiring to the presidency, desired to avoid the issue and it was omitted from the party's declaration of principles. It was reserved for the administration of John Tyler to accomplish the long-cherished plan of annexation.

After the retirement of Webster and the tragic death of Upshur, John C. Calhoun became secretary of state in the cabinet of President Tyler. The president wanted the an-

nexation of Texas to be the distinctive feature of his administration. Mr. Calhoun loved the south, and he fully believed that he now had the opportunity of his life to extend her power. Southward and westward the star of empire should take its way. A treaty of annexation was sent to the senate in April, 1844. Mr. Clay and Mr. Van Buren, the respective leaders of the two parties, were anxious to eliminate the Texas question from the ensuing presidential campaign; and the treaty failed in the senate.

In May, 1844, the Whig party nominated Mr. Clay in Baltimore on a platform that was silent on the Texas question. The Democrats were more courageous. In the convention which repudiated Van Buren and nominated James K. Polk for president, they boldly declared for annexation. During the progress of the campaign, Mr. Clay realized that his attitude against annexation, as declared in his famous Raleigh letter published in the National Intelligencer, was jeopardizing his prospects. He thereupon wrote to Stephen Miller, of Tuscaloosa, what is known as his Alabama letter, in which he said that, "far from having any personal objection to the annexation of Texas," he "would be glad to see it annexed, without dishonor, without war, with the common consent of the union, and upon just and fair terms." This letter proved to be Mr. Clay's death warrant. He lost prestige in the free states, where thousands of anti-slavery Whigs cast their votes for James G. Birney, turned the balance of power against Clay, and elected Polk. The Democrats had won the election on the square issue of annexation. Mr. Clay and Mr. Van Buren had defeated the treaty negotiated by Mr. Calhoun, and they in turn were overruled by the popular vote.

The plan of annexation was quickly consummated. Mr.

Calhoun sought quick revenge. He devised the short cut scheme of annexation by joint resolution of congress, which passed both houses in time to receive President Tyler's signature three days before he retired from office. Texas accepted the terms of the resolution and in December following was admitted into the union as a slave state. The Slave-Power had triumphed. The country was soon to pay the price of blood, for grim-visaged war was already seen upon the horizon.

The United States had annexed a neighboring republic. Mexico had never acknowledged the independence of her rebellious territory, nor abandoned her purpose of subjugation. The Mexican minister at Washington entered a formal protest against the proceeding, demanded his passports and left the country. In his message to congress President Polk announced that he had sent a squadron to the west Mexican coast and troops to the western border of Texas. This act was throwing down the gauntlet to the enemy. Mexico accepted the challenge. It was believed in the north the president intended to grasp even more territory beyond the Rio Grande. This suspicion produced an immediate revival of the anti-slavery agitation. There was a revolt throughout the country against the war-policy of the president. In the south both parties, by the supposed necessity of the situation, upheld slavery and the president's purpose to give it new worlds to conquer. In the north each party had its pro-slavery and anti-slavery wing. The union was a house divided against itself.

From the foundation of the government to the inauguration of President Polk the balancing of forces between slave and free states had been maintained with absolute precision. Slave and free states had been admitted into the union in pairs. Seven of the thirteen original states had become free. Fifteen

states were admitted into the union prior to the annexation of Texas. Eight were slave and seven free. Thus in March, 1845, there were twenty-eight states, fourteen slave and fourteen free.

The occupation of the valley of the Rio Grande by General Taylor in the winter of 1845-46 precipitated hostilities. May 13, 1846, the two republics were formally declared to be at war. The United States used the giant's power against a weaker neighbor, and the struggle lasted less than two years. A treaty of peace was signed February 2, 1848, by which Mexico relinquished her claim to Texas and ceded Upper California and New Mexico. New territory was gained, but the honor of the nation was compromised.

During the war, in August, 1846, David Wilmot, a member of congress from Pennsylvania, submitted an amendment to a bill appropriating two million dollars to be "applied under the direction of the president to any extraordinary expenses which may be incurred in our foreign intercourse." Mr. Wilmot's proviso declared it to be "an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from Mexico, that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist therein."

The proviso failed in both houses of congress, but it created a more profound impression in the country than the Missouri compromise. "The consecration of the territory of the United States to freedom became from that day a rallying cry for every shade of anti-slavery opinion."

A king of ancient Babylon decreed that those who would not bow to his image of gold should be cast into a burning, fiery furnace. So the Slave-Power demanded the allegiance of all political parties. The Whigs became alarmed, abandoned the purpose of the Wilmot proviso, and in 1848 nomi-

nated General Taylor, with no declaration of principles. The leaders adopted a non-committal policy on slavery as the only hope of the party. The Democrats reaffirmed the essential features of its platform of 1844, and nominated General Lewis Cass for president. General Taylor's military renown gave him prestige and he was elected.

But there was an increasing number of those in both parties who would not bow the knee to Baal. There were "conscience" Whigs and "barn-burner" Democrats; and these cooperated with the old Abolitionists, and, under the name of the "Free-Soil party," nominated Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams. This presidential ticket received 291,678 votes. In 1844 James G. Birney had received 58,879 votes as the abolition candidate for president, and in 1840 Mr. Birney had been able to command only 6,745 votes. This rapid gain in eight years in the numerical strength of the anti-slavery vote, and the moral earnestness and power it represented, portended a still greater conflict. It was not long delayed.

With the election of Zachary Taylor, the slavery question was still undecided. The country awaited with almost painful interest the announcement of his cabinet and his policy. The weight of influence in the personnel of his cabinet was with the north. The pro-slavery leaders were disconcerted and feared "the south had sown and the north would reap." They wanted positive legislation to establish their right to carry their slaves into the territories, and to extend the Missouri compromise line to the Pacific. But Fate or Providence decreed otherwise. Gold was discovered in California in 1848, and the territory was quickly settled by a sturdy, liberty-loving people. They promptly organized a state government,

with a constitution forever excluding slavery, and in 1849 sought admission into the union.

President Taylor's message to congress in December, 1849, was a dividing sword. It inspired the friends of the union and alarmed the slavery propagandists. The president recommended the immediate admission of California as a free state, and that New Mexico be continued under her existing military organization until she was ready to adopt a state constitution. In a subsequent special message the president said the claim of Texas to a portion of New Mexico could not be judicially determined while the latter remained a territory. These recommendations intensified sectional feeling, and the entire country felt its impulse.

At this crisis Henry Clay re-entered the senate in the role of peacemaker. In January, 1850, he introduced a series of resolutions to secure an "amicable arrangement of all questions in controversy between the free and slave states growing out of the subject of slavery." These resolutions were referred to a special committee, of which Mr. Clay was chairman. Mr. Clay reported a bill embodying the measures which were considered necessary to pacify the country. It was in support of these measures that Mr. Webster made his memorable "7th of March speech." The administration opposed Mr. Clay's "omnibus bill," as it was called, but in the heat of the debate President Taylor suddenly died. Mr. Fillmore, who succeeded, supported the compromise measures. They were finally defeated, however, in July, by striking out every feature except the provision for the organization of the territory of Utah.

After the Utah bill was passed, without prohibition or permission of slavery, separate bills followed for the admission of California; the organization of New Mexico, with the same

condition respecting slavery which had applied to Utah; for the adjustment of the Texas boundary and payment of indemnity to that state; for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and for a more drastic fugitive slave law. Congress thus enacted the bills separately which it had refused to pass together. Mr. Clay's policy had triumphed.

The fugitive slave law was especially repugnant to the moral sense of the north. The protest made by Theodore Parker in Boston against the return of the fugitive slave Sims is perhaps the most powerful piece of invective in American literature.

The Democratic and Whig parties in their conventions of 1852 adopted resolutions declaring the compromise measures a finality on the slavery question. This policy prevailed in Whig councils against a powerful minority, led by Seward, Fessenden and Wade, who demanded that not a single foot of the virgin soil of the territories should ever be under the curse of slavery. The triumph of the Democratic party and the dissolution of the Whigs appeared to settle the prolonged struggle. But no question is ever permanently settled until it is settled right; and unsettled questions have no mercy on the peace of nations.

CHAPTER III

THE INAUGURATION OF FRANKLIN PIERCE—FIRST NEBRASKA BILL—REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE—SENATOR DOUGLAS' MOTIVE—GREAT MORAL AWAKENING—ORIGIN OF NAME REPUBLICAN—THE ROCKFORD CONVENTION—POLITICS AT THE STATE FAIR—NO CONTEMPORARY REPORT—LINCOLN'S AMBITION—THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS—LYMAN TRUMBULL ELECTED UNITED STATES SENATOR.

FRANKLIN PIERCE was inaugurated president of the United States March 4, 1853. In his inaugural address he committed himself without reserve to the support of Mr. Clay's compromise measures. In his message to congress the following December the president congratulated the country that the compromise legislation had "restored a sense of repose and security to the public mind," and assured his countrymen he would do nothing to enkindle again the flame of party strife. A majority of the people, north and south, were satisfied with the situation. It was another era of good feeling, like that which prevailed during the presidency of James Monroe; but it was a calm before a storm.

The outlook, however, was discouraging to the little band of Free-Soilers. Chase and Sumner stood alone in the senate. The pro-slavery party controlled every branch of the government. It could make, execute and interpret the laws. It was Freedom's darkest hour. There was little resistance to the existing order, and the conscience of the nation seemed dead. But it was soon to be awakened.

The results of the Mexican war had disappointed the slavery propagandists. Their over-vaulting ambition had defeated itself. They had drawn the sword and now they feared they were about to perish by it. The admission of California created a vast empire devoted to freedom. The south had been checkmated in the desperate game of national politics. The soil and climate of Utah and New Mexico were natural barriers to the extension of slavery, which was surrounded by free territory, like a Chinese wall, on the north and west. Slavery would ultimately become extinct if it could not expand; and its supporters determined to remove all restrictions, peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must.

The westward tide of emigration had prepared the way for the organization of new territories. In December, 1852, toward the close of President Fillmore's administration, William Hall, of Missouri, introduced a bill in the house to organize the territory of "the Platte." This region included what is now known as Kansas and Nebraska. Mr. Hall's bill passed the house, but failed in the senate. Every senator from the slave-holding states except those from Missouri voted against it. The bill recognized the binding force of the Missouri compromise, and this fact, it was subsequently shown, caused its defeat.

The question was revived at the next session of congress. January 4, 1854, Senator Douglas, from the committee on territories, reported a bill introduced by Mr. Dodge of Iowa, to organize the territory of Nebraska. In the report which accompanied the bill Mr. Douglas declared it was based on the principles of the compromise measures of 1850. January 16, Archibald Dixon, who had succeeded Henry Clay as a senator from Kentucky, offered an amendment repealing the

Missouri compromise, so that "the citizens of the several states shall be at liberty to take and hold their slaves within any of their territories." Mr. Douglas is said to have at first remonstrated; but there is a tradition he was convinced by Mr. Dixon that the Missouri compromise was unconstitutional and unfair to the south. Douglas yielded. "This proceeding," he said, "may end my political career, but, acting under the sense of duty which animates me, I am prepared to make the sacrifice. I will do it."

Mr. Douglas kept his word. January 23 he reported a substitute for the Nebraska bill. Instead of a single territory, it provided for two, Kansas and Nebraska. The Missouri compromise was declared to be inoperative and void because it was "inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by congress with slavery in the states and territories, as recognized by the compromise measures of 1850." The bill also declared "its true intent and meaning was not to legislate slavery into any territory or state, and not to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people perfectly free to regulate their domestic institutions in their own way." The bill was before the house four months. It was passed in the senate March 3 by a vote of twenty-seven to fourteen. The bill passed the house May 24, and was signed by President Pierce six days later.

Thus the ancient landmark which the fathers had set was removed, through the utter destruction of good faith between the sections. The north was stirred to a white heat of frenzy by the astounding proposition made by Mr. Douglas, who now turned to the difficult task of defending it before the country. The Missouri compromise had come to be regarded as sacred. It was the ark of the covenant. Stephen A. Douglas had undertaken to throw open to slavery a vast

domain that had been forever consecrated to freedom. He drafted the bill of his own motion and in his own house. While the initiative in this revolutionary proceeding is accredited to Mr. Dixon, its consummation was due to Mr. Douglas, and it stands out as the most notable achievement in his remarkable parliamentary career.

Historians differ as to whether Mr. Douglas was true to himself in this transaction. On the one hand, he is credited with inventing the pretense that the compromise of 1820 was in conflict with the compromise of 1850 and that it was necessary to repeal the former in order that the doctrine of non-intervention with slavery in the territories should be recognized as the settled policy of the nation. Mr. Douglas is charged with resorting to this doctrine as a matter of self-defense; for he himself confessed that he could travel from Boston to Chicago by the light of his own effigies. But Time softens asperities, and a late biographer of Mr. Douglas throws the mantle of charity over his course in these words: "It is enough to decide he took a wrong course, and to point out how Ambition may very well have led him into it. It is too much to say he knew it was wrong, and took it solely because he was ambitious."

History moves like a pendulum. An extreme is always followed by a reaction. The effect, if not the actual purpose, of the Kansas-Nebraska bill was to give slavery an even chance with freedom in the territories. The progress of righteousness has ever been due as much to the errors of its enemies as to the wisdom of its friends; and thus it came to pass that the achievement of Mr. Douglas stirred a tidal wave of resistance that swept over his own state of Illinois.

The organized counter-movement in Illinois during its formative period was known simply as the anti-Nebraska

party. It was rapidly absorbing the more progressive elements in the old organizations. Congressmen and members of the legislature were being nominated on the new issue of no more slave territory.

The selection of the name "Republican" for the new uprising was a matter of development rather than any definite and formal christening. "Seven cities fought for Homer dead." Many cities have likewise claimed the distinction of giving the Republican party its "start in the world." Great movements are in the air in any marked period of transition. No man or city can exclusively claim them. They are rather the result of the awakened conscience of a people. From this fact arises the difficulty, if not impossibility, of determining the birthplace of this great American party of freedom.

There are, however, certain facts that have been established with reasonable certainty concerning the origin of the name. Henry Wilson, former vice-president of the United States, in his "Rise and Fall of the Slave-Power," is authority for the statement that on the night following the final passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, a meeting of senators and representatives in congress who had opposed that measure indorsed the plan for such an organization. At an anti-Nebraska meeting in Ripon, Wisconsin, March 29, 1854, Alvin E. Bovay suggested the name Republican for the new party. It is now generally conceded that Michigan took the lead in formally adopting the name Republican at a state convention held at Jackson July 6, 1854. In 1904, on the fiftieth anniversary of that event, President Roosevelt declined the honor of an invitation to be present on the ground that the birthplace of the party was a matter of dispute, and that he did not wish to give official recognition to any of the rival claimants.

Wisconsin followed Michigan July 13, and Vermont, at

a state convention the same day, selected the name Republican. It was adopted in Massachusetts at a mass meeting July 20. In Illinois there was hesitancy among the anti-Nebraska leaders, and it required some time to overcome this prejudice and acquiesce in the action of neighboring states. The anti-Nebraska convention, held at Springfield in October, 1854, which will be subsequently considered, adopted a platform in harmony with what afterward became the principles of the Republican party. The name, however, was not adopted, although Mr. Lincoln, in a letter to Ichabod Coddington, referred to "the Republican party." Even the convention held in Bloomington in 1856, which has been designated as the first Illinois state Republican convention, was not called as such, and the name was nowhere used in the proceedings.

The claim made for Rockford, that it was the scene of the first convention for the nomination of a member of congress in Illinois under the name Republican, is well founded. The citizens of Winnebago county, who were largely of New England blood and traditions, were among the first in Illinois to demand resistance to the encroachments of the Slave-Power. With this end in view, a call was issued August 8, 1854, to the voters of the First congressional district, consisting of Lake, McHenry, Boone, Winnebago, Stephenson, Jo Daviess, Carroll and Ogle counties. The call was signed by forty-six citizens of Rockford and vicinity, as follows:

"To the Electors of the First Congressional District: In view of the rapidly increasing influence of the Slave-Power, as developed in the recent act of congress, and the treachery of so large a number of representatives chosen to guard the interests of freemen, the undersigned citizens of Winnebago county most urgently request the electors of this congressional district who have the interests of our common country at heart,

irrespective of party, to meet at the court house in Rockford, on Wednesday, the 30th of August, instant, either by delegates or in mass, to consult upon the great question now at issue, and to adopt such measures as shall be deemed most efficient for combining our efforts and energies at the approaching congressional and state elections, so as to prevent the still further extension of slavery, and to protect the great interests of free labor and free men from being sacrificed to the interest or ambition of trading politicians."

C. W. Sheldon, of Rockford, is the only survivor of this protesting group. John Travis, another signer, was the first soldier from Winnebago county killed in the civil war. He was shot through the heart at the battle of Shiloh. There were thirteen Democrats in the convention and the others were Whigs and Free-Soilers. It was understood that E. B. Washburne would be nominated. This fact called forth a protest from the anti-Nebraska Democrats, who were not favorable to Mr. Washburne, who had already served one term in congress as a Whig.

This historic mass meeting was first called to order in the court house and from there adjourned to the grove west of the First Baptist church, between Court and Winnebago streets. Mr. Washburne was a candidate before the convention. There were other Richmonds in the field: Thomas J. Turner and Martin P. Sweet, of Freeport; James L. Loop, of Rockford, and Stephen A. Hurlbut, of Belvidere.

A committee on resolutions, consisting of one member from each county, was nominated. There was ambition mixed with patriotism. It was a time of the breaking up of old parties, and the future was uncertain. How far would it be safe to declare against the action of congress? This was a serious question. The leaders were against Mr. Washburne,

but the people were for him. There is a tradition that the committee on resolutions was directed somewhat by the suggestions of Mr. Hurlbut, in preparing anti-slavery resolutions so radical that Mr. Washburne, it was thought, could not accept a nomination upon them. But Mr. Washburne was equal to the occasion, and he declared the resolutions met his most hearty approval. Whereupon James Loop remarked, in language more emphatic than pious, that Washburne would swallow anything. Mr. Washburne was therefore nominated by this mass convention.

The claim that this was a real Republican convention is sustained by a paragraph from the official minutes, signed by U. D. Meacham, of Freeport, one of the secretaries. This paragraph says: "On motion Hon. E. B. Washburne was nominated by acclamation as the candidate of the Republican party of the First congressional district of Illinois, for congress, to be supported at the coming election." A local newspaper, in an editorial comment on the convention, said: "After settling a few other matters, the convention adjourned without day, and the Republican party was supposed to be born." The Belvidere Standard, edited by Ralph Roberts, an anti-Nebraska Democrat, did not recognize Mr. Washburne's ability. A lengthy editorial on the convention contained this paragraph: "The speeches were mainly short, but they were pointed and practical, except Washburne's. He may be a practical man, but he gets off more hifalutin, bombastic nonsense, when he speaks on the slavery question, than any other man we ever knew."

The regular Whig convention for the First district was held at Rockford one week later, September 6. Mr. Washburne was nominated, and, with the support of newly-made "Republicans" and old Whigs, he was elected in November.

The anti-Nebraska Democrats nominated E. P. Ferry, of Lake county.

An anti-Nebraska convention was held for the Second district at Aurora September 28, when James H. Woodworth was nominated for congress. A convention held at Bloomington for the Third district nominated Jesse O. Norton. In the Alton and Belleville district Lyman Trumbull was nominated and elected as an avowed anti-Nebraska Democrat. In the other five congressional districts of the state the nominations were made on the old party lines.

These congressional conventions were preceded by local conventions of a similar character in nearly all the northern counties, as well as in some of the central and southern sections of the state. In the absence of previous organization these were generally mass meetings composed of self-appointed delegates.

September 7, 1854, the Free West, a weekly newspaper printed in Chicago and edited by Zebina Eastman, published a call for a state mass convention to be held at Springfield October 5, 1854, "for the organization of a party which shall put the government upon a Republican tack and to secure to non-slave-holders throughout the union their just and constitutional weight and influence in the councils of the nation." The date finally chosen, however, for the assembling of the convention was October 4, the second day of the state fair, although the principal business was transacted on the following day. Thus the first state anti-Nebraska convention in Illinois was held in the state house at Springfield, October 4, 1854. This gathering was called as a "mass convention." The first state convention to which regularly accredited delegates were chosen was held at Bloomington two years later. This was

really a mass meeting, as well as a representative body. The convention of 1854 was its forerunner.

There is no contemporary report of this convention. Neither of the two papers published in Springfield gave an accurate account of the proceedings. The State Journal, which still adhered to the Whig party, disposed of the subject in two or three lines. The State Register, the Democratic organ, eleven days later published a series of radical resolutions, purporting to have been adopted at the Springfield convention. As a matter of fact, these resolutions were adopted at the convention of the Second congressional district held in Aurora. Senator Douglas, in his second debate with Lincoln at Freeport, was humiliated by the fact that he had been duped by his own newspaper organ into charging these resolutions against the "black Republicans" at Springfield.

History is indebted to the Chicago Daily Democrat of November 2, 1860, for the best newspaper account of the Springfield convention. It was evidently written by an eyewitness of the proceedings. When the delegates arrived at the capital they found the people bound hand and foot by a timid conservatism. They had not obtained the use of the state house for the convention, nor had any local notice been given of the meeting. One of the outside delegates, after his arrival, set up the type and printed handbills announcing the convention.

There is a tradition that only twenty-six persons attended the first day's session of this "mass convention." Historians have widely differed concerning the political complexion of the personnel. William Eleroy Curtis, in his book, "The True Abraham Lincoln," calls it "a small group of Abolitionists." William H. Herndon, another biographer of Lincoln, also refers to them in similar manner. Mr. Herndon, writing

upon the assumption that the convention was dominated by Abolitionists, declares that they were determined to force Mr. Lincoln to espouse their cause; that Owen Lovejoy was about to invite Mr. Lincoln to address their meeting when Herndon advised him to leave the city as quickly as possible. Mr. Herndon was a radical Abolitionist, but he knew his partner's political ambition, and did not believe it would be wise for him to become identified with the so-called extremists.

The fact that Owen Lovejoy, an Abolitionist firebrand, was a member of the convention, gives color to the statement. The conservative character of the platform, however, disproves the statement that it was the work of a "group of Abolitionists." The platform opposed the extension of slavery, but did not urge the repeal of the fugitive slave law, nor propose to interfere with slavery where it already existed under the constitution. There was a meeting of Abolitionists on the evening of October 4, and it is probable that in the lapse of time the proceedings of this gathering and those of the anti-Nebraska convention became confused by the later historians.

The anti-Nebraska convention was called to order by Tuthill King. A. C. Throop was elected chairman and C. C. Flint secretary. John E. McClun, of McLean, was nominated for state treasurer, the only state officer to be elected in November. A state central committee was chosen, of which Mr. Lincoln was made a member. Mr. Lincoln, however, did not attend the convention, and declined to serve as a member of the committee.

Such was the birth of the forerunner of the Republican party in Illinois. Its origin was as obscure as that of the great commoner who first led it to victory. The anti-Nebraska convention adopted a platform in harmony with the principles of later Republicanism. No organization was perfected, as

the state central committee failed to serve, but the convention had stood for a principle. Its leaders were like a voice crying in the wilderness; they were the forerunners of a new era.

All political parties took advantage of the state fair to hold conventions and mass meetings and discuss the issues of the day. Among the leaders present on this occasion were Richard Yates, John M. Palmer, John A. Logan, Lyman Trumbull, Elihu B. Washburne, Stephen T. Logan, Owen Lovejoy, Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln. The disruption of the Whig party had left Mr. Lincoln a political orphan. He was adrift for a time, and did not readily find new affiliations. He had always despised slavery, but he did not sympathize with the Abolitionists, one of whose leaders had said the compact between the north and the south was "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." Mr. Lincoln needed the stimulus of a crisis before he could find anchor and show what manner of man he was. The repeal of the Missouri compromise aroused the sleeping lion, and he became in time the acknowledged leader of the new movement.

Abraham Lincoln was an ambitious man. Mr. Herndon, his law partner and biographer, says his ambition was a little engine that knew no rest. But his ambition was always subordinated to his passionate love of truth. In 1837 Rev. Peter Akers preached a powerful discourse at Salem on the evils of slavery, and the possibility of civil war. "Who knows," said the preacher, in a startling climax, "but the man who shall lead the nation in that awful time may be in this audience today?" Abraham Lincoln was there; and who shall say there may not have come to him some foregleam of his destiny, like the dawning of the consciousness of power that came to Joseph, the young Hebrew, when the sun, moon and eleven stars did obeisance unto him in the wheat fields of Canaan!

A notable feature of the state fair was the discussions of Senator Douglas and Abraham Lincoln. Tuesday evening, October 3, Mr. Douglas expounded his doctrine of "popular sovereignty" before an enthusiastic throng. Although he made an able and audacious speech, he was embarrassed throughout by the fact that he was on the defensive. Mr. Lincoln replied the following day in a masterly address. His audience felt that a man of power had arisen, a Moses to lead the people.

Mr. Lincoln had foreseen and studied the inevitable issue, and was prepared for it when it came. He could interpret it beyond the power of any other American. He abhorred slavery and believed that the declaration of independence referred alike to black and white men. As a strict constructionist of the constitution, he was committed against interfering with slavery where it already existed; but he would utter the voice of warning against its extension into new territory. Mr. Lincoln's speech is a masterful exposition of the principles upon which the Republican party was founded.

Senator Douglas made a rejoinder the following day.

During the campaign of this year Illinois was visited by such distinguished anti-slavery orators as Cassius M. Clay, Salmon P. Chase and Joshua R. Giddings. At the election in November E. B. Washburne, Jesse O. Norton and James Knox, Republicans, were elected members of congress from the First, Third and Fourth districts, respectively. James H. Woodworth, William A. Richardson, Thomas L. Harris, James C. Allen, Lyman Trumbull and Samuel S. Marshall were chosen from the Second, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth and Ninth districts, respectively. Woodworth and Trumbull were classified as anti-Nebraska Democrats.

The anti-Nebraska men had a majority in the legislature, to which Mr. Lincoln had been elected a member. It was a

difficult task to classify politically the members of the general assembly when it convened January 1, 1855. There were old line Whigs, straight Democrats, anti-Nebraska Democrats, Know-Nothings, Free-Soilers and Abolitionists.

Mr. Lincoln was ambitious to succeed General Shields in the United States senate. It required fifty-one votes to elect a senator, and the forty-six anti-Nebraska Whigs were practically a unit for Mr. Lincoln. He resigned his seat in the legislature and became a candidate. The few Abolitionists distrusted him, and the five anti-Nebraska Democrats held the balance of power. These were John M. Palmer, Norman B. Judd, Burton C. Cook, G. T. Allen and Henry S. Baker. After several votes, to prevent the election of Governor Matteson, a Douglas Democrat, Mr. Lincoln with remarkable magnanimity, withdrew, and Lyman Trumbull was elected on the tenth ballot. Mr. Lincoln's time had not yet come.

Judge Trumbull's election was the first fruit of that political revolution in Illinois out of which sprang the Republican party. He was descended from one of the most distinguished families in New England, and was born in Colchester, Connecticut, October 12, 1813. He removed to Illinois in early manhood, and in 1841 he became secretary of state. In 1848 he was elected one of the justices of the supreme court of Illinois. Judge Trumbull was one of the five Republican senators who voted for acquittal in the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson. He possessed a remarkably acute and analytical mind; and a contemporary says he was regarded as the most cold-blooded man who had ever appeared in public life in Illinois. Judge Trumbull occupied a position of influence as chairman of the judiciary committee of the senate.



LYMAN TRUMBULL

CHAPTER IV

EDITORIAL CONFERENCE AT DECATUR—STATE REPUBLICAN
CONVENTION AT BLOOMINGTON—THE PLATFORM—LIN-
COLN'S LOST SPEECH — REPUBLICANS ELECT STATE
TICKET.

THE failure of the Springfield convention to effect a permanent organization made it necessary for such initiative to be taken by others. This duty devolved upon a group of anti-Nebraska editors. If there is any one man in Illinois who can be especially designated as the father of the Republican party as a state organization in Illinois, it is Paul Selby, now living in Chicago. In 1856 Mr. Selby was editor of the Morgan Journal at Jacksonville. Early in January of that year there appeared in the editorial columns of the Journal a suggestion that a conference of anti-Nebraska editors be called. Its purpose was to outline political action for the ensuing state and national campaigns. The first endorsement came from the Winchester Chronicle, then under the editorship of the late John Moses, who became the private secretary of the first Governor Richard Yates, and still later the author of *Moses' History of Illinois*. The Illinois State Chronicle, published at Decatur, announced a similar approval, and, upon the suggestion of the Chronicle, Decatur was chosen as the place of meeting and February 22 as the date. Other early endorsers were the Pike County Press and the Chicago Tribune.

A formal call for an editorial conference was issued, which was endorsed by twenty-five newspapers. Among these were

the Tribune, Staats Zeitung and Journal, of Chicago, and the Pike County Press, at Pittsfield, then edited by the late John G. Nicolay, who became a private secretary and later a biographer of Abraham Lincoln.

The conference was called to order at the appointed time. The editors met in the Cassell house, later the Oglesby house, and subsequently the St. Nicholas hotel. There were an even dozen anti-Nebraska editors at the conference. A heavy snow storm the night before blockaded railroads and prevented a number from attending. Two or three, however, arrived in the evening, but too late to take part in the proceedings. Those present at the first session were: Dr. Charles H. Ray, Chicago Tribune; George Schneider, Chicago Staats Zeitung; V. Y. Ralston, Quincy Whig; O. P. Wharton, Rock Island Advertiser; Thomas J. Pickett, Peoria Republican; E. C. Daugherty, Rockford Register; E. W. Blaisdell, Jr., Rockford Republican; Charles Faxon, Princeton Post; A. N. Ford, Lacon Gazette; B. F. Shaw, Dixon Telegraph; W. J. Usrey, Decatur Chronicle; Paul Selby, Morgan Journal. Mr. Selby is the only survivor.

An organization was effected with Paul Selby as chairman and W. J. Usrey, secretary. Charles H. Ray, George Schneider, V. Y. Ralston, O. P. Wharton, E. C. Daugherty and Thomas J. Pickett were appointed a committee on resolutions. A. N. Ford, Charles Faxon and B. F. Shaw were the committee on credentials.

The most important work of the conference was transacted through the committee on resolutions. Mr. Lincoln came from Springfield and was in conference with the committee; and there is reason to believe that the platform, reported through Dr. Ray as the chairman, and adopted by the conference, bears the stamp of his peculiar intellect. Mr.

Lincoln was the only outsider admitted to the deliberations of the conference, and his relations were wholly with the committee on resolutions.

The platform disavowed any intention of interfering with slavery in the states; protested against the introduction of slavery into territory already free; demanded the restoration of the Missouri compromise; opposed "Know-nothingism," which had swept over the country, and concluded with a demand for reform in the state government. It was a conservative platform, so far as slavery was concerned.

The conference adopted an independent resolution, which recommended that a state convention be held at Bloomington May 29. A state central committee was appointed, consisting of one member from each congressional district, and two for the state at large. The following citizens were the members of the committee, chosen in the order of their districts: Selden M. Church, Rockford; W. B. Ogden, Chicago; G. D. A. Parks, Joliet; T. J. Pickett, Peoria; Edward A. Dudley, Quincy; W. H. Herndon, Springfield; R. J. Oglesby, Decatur; Joseph Gillespie, Edwardsville; D. L. Phillips, Jonesboro, with Gustavus Koerner, of Belleville, and Ira O. Williams of Rock Island, for the state at large.

The members of this committee, with three exceptions, united in calling the convention at Bloomington. These exceptions were W. B. Ogden, R. J. Oglesby and Gustavus Koerner. Dr. John Evans and Colonel I. C. Pugh filled the places of Ogden and Oglesby respectively.

In the evening a banquet was tendered the editors by the citizens of Decatur at the Cassell house. R. J. Oglesby presided and Abraham Lincoln made the principal address. In replying to the suggestion of his name as a candidate for

governor, Mr. Lincoln magnanimously urged the nomination of an anti-Nebraska Democrat and finally named William H. Bissell as the logical candidate.

The first Illinois state Republican convention was held in Bloomington, May 29, 1856. As stated in a preceding chapter, the name Republican was not mentioned in the call, and it does not occur in the proceedings. By common consent, however, it has become known in the history of the state as a Republican convention. Thirty counties sent no delegates and many of those who were present from the central and southern sections were self-appointed and represented no constituencies. Other counties were represented not only by duly appointed delegates, but by prominent citizens who lent the weight of their personal influence to the new movement.

The convention was a melting pot in which Democrats, Whigs, Abolitionists and Know-nothings were to be fused into a new party that was to win its first victory in the state six months later. The convention was of such importance that a certain distinction has always attached to the delegates. The actual transactions are a matter of record, but there were no reports of the speeches and the historian is obliged to depend mainly upon tradition.

The old party leaders were there. Among them were Trumbull, Palmer, Lincoln, Oglesby, Wentworth, Browning, Yates, Lovejoy and Koerner. There was also a younger group of men who were in the line of apostolic succession for leadership. This list included William Pitt Kellogg, who became governor of Louisiana during the troublous days of reconstruction; Thomas J. Henderson, Thomas J. Pickett, Stephen A. Hurlbut, Joseph Medill and John F. Farnsworth. Mr. Medill had come to Chicago from Ohio in 1855 and with two partners purchased the Tribune. Mr. Medill was

the Greeley of the west, and under his editorial management the Tribune became a powerful exponent of Republican principles.

John M. Palmer presided over the convention, and Richard Yates, William Ross, John H. Bryant, David L. Phillips, James M. Ruggles, G. D. A. Parks, John Clark, Abner C. Harding and J. H. Marshall were vice-presidents. The secretaries were Henry S. Baker, of Madison county; Charles L. Wilson, of Cook; John Tillson, of Adams; Washington Bushnell, of La Salle and B. J. F. Hanna, of Randolph.

The platform embraced the following declaration of principles: Opposition to the Democratic administration; that congress possessed the power to abolish slavery in the territories and should exercise that power to prohibit the extension of slavery into all territory heretofore free; opposition to the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and in favor of making Kansas and Nebraska free states; loyalty to the union and the constitution; a demand for the immediate admission of Kansas under the free constitution adopted by her people; liberty of conscience as well as political freedom, proscribing no one on account of religious opinions or place of birth.

William H. Bissell was nominated for governor. Colonel Bissell had returned as a hero from the Mexican war. He had commanded a regiment of the bravest of Illinois men, of whom he was the idol. He fought in several battles and distinguished himself at Buena Vista. After his return to civil life he was elected to congress several terms without opposition. While in congress he denounced Jefferson Davis, who had cast reflections upon Illinois men who had fought in the war with Mexico. Davis challenged his adversary to fight a duel. Bissell accepted, and chose muskets to be used

at such short range that it meant sure death to one or both. Through the intercession of President Zachary Taylor, Davis' father-in-law, the challenge was withdrawn.

Francis A. Hoffman was nominated for lieutenant-governor; Ozias M. Hatch for secretary of state; Jesse K. Dubois for auditor of public accounts; James Miller for treasurer; William H. Powell for superintendent of public instruction. It was found that Mr. Hoffman, who was a native of Germany, had not been a resident of the state fourteen years, and was therefore ineligible under the constitution. John Wood, of Adams county, was subsequently nominated for lieutenant-governor.

The nominations were not made in the usual manner. Bissell and Hoffman were nominated by acclamation, and the others upon the recommendation of a committee, of which Abraham Lincoln was chairman. The old state central committee was continued. The ticket was a concession to the old Whig and Democratic elements in the convention. No radical Republican received recognition.

Eloquent orators enkindled the fire of devotion on this new altar of freedom. John M. Palmer spoke from the standpoint of an old school Democrat; Browning as a Whig; while Lovejoy, in the words of John Moses, spoke "from a pinnacle of vision to which others had not been able hitherto to climb."

The last speaker was Abraham Lincoln, who made what some historians have called the greatest effort of his life. Tradition says the large audience arose to its feet, stood upon chairs and benches and was moved at will by this new prophet of righteousness. Lincoln was newly baptised with the spirit of freedom, and he spoke with a Pentecostal flame. Mr. Herndon, in his *Life of Lincoln*, says of this speech: "He

had the fervor of a new convert; the smothered flame broke out; enthusiasm, unusual to him, blazed up; his eyes were aglow with an inspiration; he felt justice; his heart was alive to the right; his sympathies, remarkably deep for him, burst forth and he stood before the throne of the eternal right, in the presence of his God, and then and there unburdened his penitential and fired soul."

That address has never been preserved to the world, and it is known as the "lost speech." The reporters threw down their pens and lived only in the inspiration of the hour.

The Democratic state convention met at Springfield May 1. William A. Richardson was nominated for governor on the third ballot. Richard Jones Hamilton, of Chicago, was nominated for lieutenant-governor; William H. Snyder, of St. Clair, for secretary of state; Samuel K. Casey, of Franklin, for auditor; John Moore, the incumbent, for treasurer; and J. H. St. Matthew, of Tazewell, for state superintendent of public instruction.

The first national convention held in 1856 was that of the American party, which assembled at Philadelphia February 19. Millard Fillmore was nominated for president, and Andrew J. Donelson for vice-president.

The first national Republican convention opened in Philadelphia June 17. John C. Fremont was nominated for president, and William L. Dayton for vice-president. Abraham Lincoln was the closest rival to Mr. Dayton for the vice-presidency. The platform declared it to be "both the right and the imperative duty of congress to prohibit in the territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery."

The national Democratic convention was held at Cincinnati June 2. Senator Douglas was a candidate, but James

Buchanan was nominated for president on the sixteenth ballot. John C. Breckenridge was nominated for vice-president. The platform flatly opposed the doctrine of the congressional prohibition of slavery.

The issue was squarely joined. Of the popular vote, 1,838,169 were cast for Buchanan, and 1,341,264 for Fremont. The Republican party had suffered nominal defeat, but had gained a moral victory.

A notable event of these formative days was the utter destruction of the Whig party. With the exception of one senator and seven members of the house, the entire Whig delegation in congress from the south had sustained that measure. Thenceforward the northern and the southern wings must part company. Like Lucifer, the Whig party had fallen, "never to rise again."

The campaign of 1856 in Illinois abounded in exciting incidents. The Democrats sought to identify the Abolitionists with the "Black Republicans," and the cudgel was not without its effect. The result at the polls was a divided victory. The entire Republican state ticket was elected by a plurality of 4,732 votes. The party also elected four congressmen and the Democrats five. The Democrats secured both branches of the legislature. The senate stood thirteen Democrats to twelve Republicans. In the house there were thirty-eight Democrats, thirty-one Republicans and six Americans.

Millard Fillmore was able to hold a sufficient number of Know-Nothing votes to give the electoral vote of the state to James Buchanan by a plurality of 9,159.

In the brief space of two years a revolution had been wrought in Illinois. The long continued ascendancy of the

Democrat party had been arrested, and not even the genius of Stephen A. Douglas could stem the tide. It was the dawning of a new day.

CHAPTER V

THE DRED SCOTT DECISION—THE STRUGGLE FOR KANSAS—
SUMNER'S SPEECH ON THE CRIME AGAINST KANSAS—
SUMNER ASSAULTED BY BROOKS—DOUGLAS BREAKS
WITH BUCHANAN—THE ENGLISH BILL—ILLINOIS RE-
PUBLICANS IN DILEMMA—LINCOLN'S "HOUSE DIVIDED"
SPEECH.

THERE are two national events of such political significance that the story of the Republican party in Illinois cannot be continued without some reference to them. The first is the Dred Scott decision, and the second is the sanguinary struggle over the slavery question in Kansas.

March 7, 1857, three days after the inauguration of James Buchanan, the supreme court of the United States rendered the famous Dred Scott decision. Dred Scott, a negro slave, was taken by his master, Dr. Emerson, a surgeon in the regular army, into Illinois, a free state, and later into Minnesota. This territory was a region from which slavery had been excluded by the Missouri compromise. While in Minnesota, Scott was married, with his master's consent. He was brought back to Missouri and he and his family were sold to another master, John F. A. Sanford, of New York. Scott brought action for trespass before a St. Louis court, which declared he was a free man. The supreme court of Missouri reversed this decision, and the case was appealed in 1854 to the federal circuit court, which decided Scott was still a slave.

The case came before the supreme court of the United States in 1855. According to popular belief the case was

argued in ample time for an earlier decision and was held until after the presidential election in 1856 for a political purpose. The decision of this court of last resort was radical and far reaching. The court declared the Missouri compromise was unconstitutional. The repeal of that measure was therefore approved and its re-enactment forbidden. Slavery was held to be as much entitled to protection in the national domain as any other institution, and it was not within the power of congress or a territorial legislature to decree freedom for a territory.

Benjamin R. Curtis, one of the two dissenting justices, maintained the absolute right of congress to prohibit slavery in the territories. It was generally believed the court had gone beyond the question at issue. This decision gave the Slave-Power a new weapon. The argument for slavery was made by Chief Justice Taney, but it was received with indignation in the north. The people, with Charles Sumner, knew "the fallibility of judicial tribunals."

The somewhat extended reference to the struggle for the possession of Kansas is not made in its strict chronological order. The attitude of Senator Douglas in this crisis had such a bearing upon his immediate political fortunes in Illinois that it forms an almost necessary introduction to the campaign of 1858 and the Lincoln and Douglas debates.

When the Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed, Charles Sumner exultantly exclaimed: "It sets Freedom and Slavery face to face and bids them grapple." The struggle for the possession of Kansas is a dark chapter in American history. As organized, Kansas included a large part of what is now Colorado; New Mexico also included Arizona; Utah included all of Nevada. The repeal of the Missouri compromise had given the south new courage. It had apparently gained a

great victory, but it was of little value unless it could regain the equality it had lost in the senate by the admission of California. The status of Nebraska would also be settled as free territory. If Kansas could be made a slave state there was a chance for the south to retrieve its waning fortunes. If it failed, all was lost. The dissolution of the union might be the only alternative. This was not an idle threat. Kansas occupied the precise territorial center of the vast North American continent. Situated on the very highway between two oceans, it became the scene of a seven years' war, from 1854 to 1861. It was a veritable reign of terror.

Under the terms of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, slavery was not to be legislated into the territories, nor excluded therefrom. The struggle at once began. The proximity of slave states gave the south an obvious advantage. Emigrants from Arkansas and Missouri immediately began to pour into Kansas to hold the territory in the interest of slavery. Colonists from New England sought to preserve the state to freedom. Andrew H. Reeder, a pro-slavery Democrat from Pennsylvania, was made the first territorial governor and began his duties in October, 1854. November 29, armed bodies of Missourians invaded the territory and openly voted in such numbers as to elect one of their own confederates, named Whitfield, as territorial delegate to congress. March 30 following, a territorial legislature was elected by means of fraudulent votes. This legislature met in July and promptly voted Kansas a slave territory by enacting bodily the laws of Missouri.

The free-state settlers organized a counter-movement. A meeting was held at Lawrence, which issued a call for the election of delegates to a convention to be held at Topeka. This convention assembled October 23, and framed a con-

stitution forbidding slavery, which was ratified by popular vote December 15. A petition was presented to congress praying for the admission of Kansas as a free state. Thus, when congress convened in December, 1855, it was confronted with the question whether it would recognize the fraudulent legislature or the Topeka convention as the representatives of the people.

A popular election was held January 15, 1856. The Free-Soilers elected a legislature and Charles Robinson their first governor. The constitution under which this election was held was repudiated by President Pierce, who had recognized the fraudulent legislature. The Free-Soil legislature ignored the action of the president, who placed the military forces of the government at the disposal of Governor Shannon, who had succeeded Governor Reeder. This legislature, sitting at Topeka, was subsequently dispersed by federal troops. The strife that ensued may be regarded as the opening battle of the civil war, and the distracted country was given the name of "bleeding Kansas."

In March, 1856, Senator Douglas, from the committee on territories, presented a report on all that had occurred in Kansas. He opposed the Topeka constitution, and then offered a bill for the admission of Kansas as soon as her population should reach ninety-three thousand, with such constitution as her people might adopt. It was during the debate that followed that Charles Sumner delivered his famous speech in the senate on "The Crime Against Kansas." Mr. Sumner had a sublime faith in the all-conquering power of a principle. In the course of his speech he referred to Senator Douglas in these prophetic words: "The senator dreams that he can subdue the north. . . He is but a mortal man; against him is an immortal principle. With finite power he wrestles

with the infinite, and he must fail. Against him are stronger batallions than any marshalled by mortal arm—the inborn, ineradicable, invincible sentiments of the human heart; against him is nature, in all her subtle forces; against him is God. Let him try to subdue these.”

This speech, in the words of the poet Whittier, was “a grand and terrible philippic.” On May 22, following, Mr. Sumner was brutally assaulted in the senate chamber by Preston S. Brooks, a representative from South Carolina. These circumstances combined to create an enormous demand for Mr. Sumner’s speech. Hon. E. B. Washburne, in a letter to a constituent, now in possession of the writer, made this prophecy: “If we make no mistake and act earnestly and discreetly, the rule of the Slave-Power now ceases. Mr. Sumner is getting along. He was terribly beaten, but his blood will be avenged.”

The famous “Lecompton constitution” was adopted by the Pro-Slavery party of Kansas at a convention held September 5, 1857. It sanctioned slavery and prohibited the passage of emancipation laws. The constitution was submitted to popular vote, with or without slavery. The Anti-Slavery men refused to vote and the constitution was adopted.

When congress met in December, 1857, President Buchanan urged the admission of Kansas with the Lecompton constitution. Two days later Senator Douglas made a remarkable speech in which he repudiated as fraudulent the Lecompton constitution, and thus made a significant break with President Buchanan. This speech meant freedom for Kansas. The Lecompton fraud had divided the Pro-Slavery party. Senator Douglas had come to the parting of the ways. He had precipitated the Kansas conflict and he now retrieved himself in part by lending his powerful influence to the cause

of freedom. His later course may have been prompted by the instinct of self-preservation, or high moral purpose. In either case he wrought for freedom, and Stephen A. Douglas, with all his faults, stands out as one of the most remarkable characters who have appeared in American political history.

The Lecompton bill, however, despite Senator Douglas, passed the senate. The house was unconquerable. At this point Mr. English, of Indiana, introduced a bill which was practically a bribe. If Kansas would ratify the Lecompton fraud, she should receive a generous grant of land. Her refusal would mean an indefinite delay of the question of admission. But Kansas would not sell her birthright for a mess of pottage. She spurned the bribe and in 1861 came into the union as a free state.

The Kansas struggle had proved one of the critical periods in American history. The state of Illinois now becomes the great theater of political action, with Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas as the principal actors. The Republican party in the state was confronted with a peculiar combination of circumstances. This condition had been precipitated by the break of Senator Douglas with President Buchanan. If Douglas were successful in securing a re-election it would be interpreted as a defeat for the administration. Thus the new Republican party of Illinois had an opportunity of aiding a Democratic president to defeat a Democratic senator for re-election.

There was also a possibility that at the last moment it might become necessary for the Republicans to nominate a former Democrat for senator, as they had done in 1854. Horace Greeley in the New York Tribune advised that the Illinois senatorship should be allowed to go to Douglas by default. By thus widening the breach between Douglas and

Buchanan, the chance for Republican victory in 1860 would be enhanced.

Mr. Lincoln was on the alert and checkmated the move. He addressed letters to prominent Republicans throughout the state, advising them against the danger of endorsing Douglas merely because he had quarreled with Buchanan.

The Republican state convention of Illinois met at Springfield, July 16, 1858. James Miller, of McLean county, was nominated for state treasurer, and Newton Bateman, of Morgan county, for superintendent of public instruction.

After these nominations had been made, the convention unanimously adopted the following resolution: "That Hon. Abraham Lincoln is our first and only choice to fill the vacancy about to be created by the expiration of Mr. Douglas' term of office."

Mr. Lincoln expected the honor and had prepared a speech with great care. The first paragraph contains this famous passage: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot permanently endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new, north as well as south."

This was radical doctrine and alarmed Lincoln's friends. It is not known whether Mr. Lincoln foresaw that Senator Douglas would construe his statement into a desire to dissolve the union; or whether he appreciated the danger that his criticism of the Dred Scott decision would be twisted by

Douglas into a revolutionary attack on the supreme court. But Abraham Lincoln believed the time had come to speak the truth. It seemed like defying the prophets of Baal on Mt. Carmel; but it required less than five years to fulfill his prophetic warning. Like Isaiah in Israel and Mazzini in Italy, Abraham Lincoln was willing to become a sacrifice, if need be, on the altar of his country, that he might be wholly consumed in the holy flame. Mr. Lincoln must have believed in the ultimate extinction of slavery. It could not permanently endure hemmed in and restricted by free territory. Two civilizations, one founded on freedom and the other on slavery, could not indefinitely co-exist. This was the message of the "house divided" speech.

Another notable feature of this speech was the veiled accusation that Stephen A. Douglas, Franklin Pierce, James Buchanan and Roger B. Taney had entered into a conspiracy to perpetuate and nationalize slavery. Mr. Lincoln's speech was a trumpet call to the conscience of the nation to defeat, by an enlightened public sentiment, this unholy alliance.

CHAPTER VI

LINCOLN CHALLENGES DOUGLAS TO DISCUSS THE SLAVERY ISSUE—DISPUTANTS COMPARED—FIRST JOINT DEBATE AT OTTAWA.

IN 1858 Illinois was the battle ground of giants. The prize was a seat in the United States senate. A more tremendous issue, however, was involved. It was a conflict between two civilizations. The question of the hour was whether the moral conscience of the nation could be awakened and energized to resist the threatened nationalization of American slavery. From the view-point of far-reaching results, only the debate between Webster and Hayne in the senate of the United States, nearly thirty years earlier, can be compared with the contest between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas. The disputants were adopted sons of the Prairie state. Douglas represented an established order that had become entrenched in law and enthroned on the prejudice of custom. Lincoln was a John the Baptist of a new dispensation. He had come to preach deliverance to the captives, and to set at liberty those that were bruised. The history of these debates is an old story, but it will never cease to fascinate the student of history. The debates were confined exclusively to the issue of slavery.

The three great political rivalries in American politics are Hamilton and Jefferson, Clay and Jackson, and Lincoln and Douglas. The outcome of the last named has most greatly affected the life of the nation. July 24, 1858, Mr. Lincoln, in a brief letter, invited Senator Douglas to participate in a

series of joint debates. The invitation was accepted and it was arranged to have a discussion in each congressional district in the state, except the Second and Sixth, where they had already made addresses. The cities designated were Ottawa, Freeport, Jonesboro, Charleston, Galesburg, Quincy and Alton.

The ambitions of Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln ran in parallel lines. Each was the incarnation of the principles he espoused. They were the two poles of the political thought of their time, as Hamilton and Jefferson had been in the days of the fathers. Douglas, as an audacious and ready debater, has never been surpassed in either branch of congress. He had a personal magnetism which made him a popular idol and a born leader of men. He was self-confident and even arrogant, and was withal a dangerous antagonist. "In that peculiar style of debate," says Mr. Blaine, "which, in its intensity resembles a physical combat, he had no equal." Lincoln, like Jefferson, trembled for his country when he remembered that God was just. Douglas was the consummate master of the commonplace. Lincoln's vision laid hold of the unseen and the eternal. Thus equipped, the gladiators entered the arena.

The issue was the restriction of slavery to the states in which it already existed. Lincoln advocated such restriction. Douglas would allow each new state and territory to settle the question for itself. The issue was clearly defined.

The first joint debate was held at Ottawa, August 21. Mr. Douglas, in opening the discussion, alluded to the fact that while Whigs and Democrats, prior to 1854, had differed on other issues, they had accepted the compromise measures of 1850 as a final settlement of the slavery question. Webster and Cass had supported the principle laid down by Henry

Clay, that it was the right of the people of each state and territory to decide their domestic institutions for themselves. Mr. Douglas contended that his Kansas and Nebraska bill was based on these compromise measures, which had been endorsed by the two parties in Illinois and in their national conventions of 1852, and that he introduced it in congress for the purpose of carrying out those principles.

Mr. Douglas reviewed the story of the alleged agreement made by Mr. Lincoln and Lyman Trumbull to "abolitionize" the two parties in Illinois, send Lincoln to the United States senate to succeed Shields, and Trumbull to succeed Douglas. He charged that Trumbull had dealt falsely with Lincoln and captured the prize. Mr. Douglas also attempted to show that Mr. Lincoln had given his sanction to the platform alleged to have been adopted by the Springfield convention in 1854.

Mr. Lincoln's following was somewhat heterogeneous, and Douglas knew it. "Their principles," he said on one occasion, "in the north are jet black, in the center they are in color a decent mulatto, and in lower Egypt they are almost white."

Reference was made in Chapter III. to the fact that the State Register, the Democratic organ published at Springfield, had published a series of radical resolutions, which were purported to have been adopted at the Springfield convention in 1854. At the time of the debate in Ottawa neither Lincoln nor Douglas knew that these resolutions were really adopted at a convention of the Second district held at Aurora. Thus in this first encounter Mr. Douglas sought to create a prejudice against his antagonist by attempting to identify the Abolitionists with the "Black Republicans." Abolitionism was not popular in Illinois at this time, and Mr. Douglas made the most of this fact. He therefore propounded seven questions

to his opponent, predicated on the platform falsely alleged to have been adopted at Springfield. His motive was to entrap Lincoln into a compromising answer "when I trot him down to Egypt." These questions were briefly as follows: Whether Mr. Lincoln today stands, as he did in 1854, in favor of the unconditional repeal of the fugitive slave law; whether he still stands pledged against the admission of any more slave states, even if the people want them; whether he stands against the admission of a new state, with such a constitution as the people of that state may see fit to make; whether he stands pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; whether he stands pledged to the abolition of the slave trade between the states; whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the territories of the United States, north as well as south of the Missouri compromise line; whether he is opposed to the acquisition of any new territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein.

Mr. Douglas then proceeded to assail the cardinal principle of Mr. Lincoln's Springfield speech, that a house divided against itself cannot stand. He declared the doctrine threatened the existence of the government; that the fathers had divided the republic into free and slave states; that it had so existed for seventy years, and could thus indefinitely endure. Mr. Douglas insisted that when the constitution was adopted the doctrine of uniformity preached by Mr. Lincoln would have meant the uniformity of slavery, as the slave states were then in a majority, and would have made no concession.

At this point Mr. Douglas discussed Mr. Lincoln's opposition to the Dred Scott decision on the ground that it deprived the negro of certain natural rights. The senator denied that the declaration of independence contemplated negro equality and boldly declared his belief that this government was made

by white men for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever; and that if the Almighty ever intended the negro to be the equal of the white man "He has been a long time demonstrating the fact." He recognized the obligation of giving the negro every immunity consistent with the safety of society; but declared it was the right of each state to determine for itself the measure of that immunity. Mr. Douglas elaborated this principle during the remainder of this speech.

Mr. Lincoln's reply was a straightforward statement of the question at issue, and a complete answer to the plausible but fallacious argument of his adversary. He denied the charge that he and Judge Trumbull had conspired to "abolitionize" the old parties. He struck from the shoulder powerful blows against slavery. He quoted from his speech in Peoria in 1854, in which he said he hated slavery because of the monstrous injustice of the institution itself; because it enabled the enemies of free institutions to "taunt us as hypocrites" and caused the "real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity."

Even in those days, Mr. Lincoln's great heart had no room for malice. He threw the mantle of charity over the south, and said it was no more responsible than the north for the origin of slavery. He recognized the constitutional rights of the south, disavowed any right to interfere with slavery where it already existed, and would even give it a humane fugitive slave law.

The natural conservatism of Mr. Lincoln is shown in his denial of the social and political equality of the negro. He did believe, however, the black man was entitled to all the natural rights included in the declaration of independence, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Mr. Lincoln refused to recognize the binding moral force of the Dred Scott decision, which had nationalized slavery so

far as the territories were concerned, although he might obey the mandate of the highest tribunal, in so far as it affected the case at bar. He did not believe a ruling of the supreme court could withstand the omnipotence of public opinion, because the voice of the people might become the voice of God. He makes his confession of faith in these words at Ottawa: "In this and like communities public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment nothing can fail; without it nothing can succeed." Mr. Lincoln therefore makes his appeal to the national conscience.

Mr. Lincoln reaffirmed the doctrine enunciated in his speech at Springfield, "that a house divided against itself cannot stand." The great variety in local institutions, arising from differences in soil and climate, do not make a "house divided." They are rather a bond of union; they make a house united. Slavery, on the other hand, has always been an apple of discord, an element of division in the house. The union had existed as a divided house to this day because the fathers had excluded it from the territories, cut off its source by the abrogation of the slave trade, and thus put the seal of legislation against its extension. The fathers placed slavery where the public rested in the belief it was in the course of ultimate extinction.

Mr. Douglas was charged with placing slavery on the new basis of perpetuity and nationalization. This new basis will never bring peace. If slavery could again be placed on the basis of Washington, Jefferson and Madison, it would be in the course of ultimate extinction, and the crisis would be past.

Mr. Lincoln's analysis of his opponent's doctrine of "squatter sovereignty" was keen and convincing. It proposed to give each prospective state the right to settle the slavery question for itself, but under the Dred Scott decision it simply

allowed "the people to have slavery if they want to, but does not allow them not to have it if they do not want it."

Mr. Lincoln reaffirmed the charge made in his Springfield speech, that there was a tendency, if not a conspiracy, to nationalize slavery, and repeated his quaint allusion to "Stephen, Franklin, Roger and James" as the parties to the conspiracy. He viewed with suspicion the words of the Nebraska bill, "It being the true intent and meaning of this bill not to legislate slavery into any territory or state." Mr. Lincoln suspected the word "state" was to prepare the way for another Dred Scott decision, whereby the supreme court could decide that no "state" under the constitution can exclude slavery, just as it had already declared that neither congress nor a territorial legislature can make such restriction. Mr. Douglas was satisfied with this situation, not because it was right in itself, but because it had been "decided by the court," and had the force of a "thus saith the Lord."

Mr. Douglas devoted a considerable portion of his brief reply to a second attempt to prove that Lincoln was in sympathy with the resolutions alleged to have been adopted by the Springfield convention of 1854. This insistence was personal and political, for the purpose of discrediting his opponent in conservative circles. Mr. Lincoln had not definitely answered the questions propounded by Mr. Douglas, and the latter repeated them in substance. Douglas explained the use of the word "state" in the Nebraska bill. Missouri had asked to come into the union as a slave state, but was kept out for a time by anti-slavery sentiments in the north. Hence the first slavery question arose upon a state, and not upon a territory; and for this reason the word "state" was placed in the Nebraska bill. The reason was clever, and may have been true; but it never convinced Mr. Lincoln.

CHAPTER VII

SECOND DEBATE AT FREEPORT—LINCOLN SHOWS CONSERVATISM, BURNS HIS BRIDGES BEHIND HIM, AND ASKS DOUGLAS FOUR QUESTIONS—"LITTLE GIANT" ANSWERS THEM AND IS SWEEPED FROM HIS MOORING.

THE second joint debate between Lincoln and Douglas was held at Freeport, August 27. It has become the most famous and historic of the series by reason of the questions propounded by Lincoln to Douglas, and the attempt of the latter to answer them. These debates were not strictly a continuous discussion of the question at issue. They were in large measure repetitions of the essential arguments made to different audiences. There were digressions and local allusions, but each debate was designed to be a complete statement of the principles advocated by their respective champions. Thus a careful study of the discussions at Ottawa, Freeport and the last at Alton will suffice for a general understanding of the subject. On that bright summer day the little unpretentious city of Freeport was the Mecca toward which thousands of pilgrims, Republicans and Democrats, went to hear words of wisdom. Their greatest oracles were there.

Mr. Lincoln first proposed to answer the questions propounded to him at Ottawa by Senator Douglas, if the latter would agree to answer an equal number of questions. The senator made no sign; whereupon Lincoln said he would "answer his interrogatories whether he answers mine or not." These were the questions based on the "Republican platform"

alleged to have been adopted at Springfield in 1854, to which references were made in Chapters III. and VI. It was at Freeport that Mr. Lincoln announced the discovery, to the great embarrassment of Mr. Douglas, that the resolutions were adopted at Aurora instead of Springfield. Mr. Lincoln said, however, with dry humor, that the discovery did not relieve him in any way, because he was as much responsible for the resolutions adopted in Kane county as for those which were passed at Springfield, "being exactly nothing in either case." Mr. Douglas made a facetious retort, in which he referred to the fact of the adoption of certain resolutions, but which "were not adopted on the right spot."

By way of further introduction, Mr. Lincoln said that since the organization of the Republican party at Bloomington in 1856, he had considered himself bound as a party man by the platform of the party then and since; and if in the questions he might answer, he went beyond the scope of these platforms, no one but himself could be held responsible. Mr. Lincoln then answered the seven questions. These replies constituted his political "confession of faith." He first declared that he did not now and never did stand in favor of the unconditional repeal of the fugitive slave law. He was not now and never had been pledged against the admission of any more slave states into the union. He did not stand pledged against the admission of a new state into the union, with such a constitution as the people of that state may see fit to make. He was not pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. He was not pledged to the abolition of the slave trade between the states. To the sixth question he replied that he was implicitly, if not expressly, pledged to a belief in the right and duty of congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States territories. The last question was answered in these words:

"I am not generally opposed to the honest acquisition of territory; and in any given case I would or would not oppose such acquisition, accordingly as I might think such acquisition would or would not aggravate the slavery question among ourselves."

Mr. Lincoln's reply to these vital questions revealed a conservatism that completely disproved the taunt of his adversary that in the north his "principles were jet black." Mr. Lincoln despised slavery; yet he would not violate its sanctuary, recognized, as it was, by the federal constitution. Lincoln, however, had thus far only negatively defined his position. He had confined himself to the strict letter of the questions propounded by Douglas and said he was not "pledged" on any of the points he had answered. But he is not disposed to hang upon the exact form of the questions, and proceeds to answer them affirmatively and in detail.

On the first question Mr. Lincoln expressed the belief that under the constitution of the United States the people of the south were entitled to a congressional fugitive slave law, and said the law then existing should have been framed so as to be free from some of its objections, without impairing its efficiency.

Mr. Lincoln's answer to the second question was framed with consummate skill. He confessed that he would be exceedingly sorry to be obliged to pass upon the question of admitting more slave states into the union. He would be glad to know there would never be another slave state; but if slavery should be kept out of the territories during the territorial existence of any given territory, and the people should, having a fair chance and a clear field, do such an extraordinary thing as to adopt a slave constitution, uninfluenced by the active presence of the institution among them,

he saw no alternative but to admit them into the union. The possibility of such a situation was so remote that Mr. Lincoln's answer, when properly analyzed, could not fail to satisfy the most ardent Abolitionist. There was refined sarcasm in the suggestion that the people of a territory should ever adopt a slave constitution, uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution among them. It punctured Mr. Douglas' pet doctrine of "popular sovereignty."

The third question Mr. Lincoln regarded as answered in his reply to the second, and made no further comment.

In discussing the fourth question, Mr. Lincoln said he would rejoice in the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and believed that congress possessed the power to abolish it. He declared, however, that such abolition should be gradual; that it should be on a vote of the majority of the qualified electors in the district; and that compensation should be made to unwilling owners. With these conditions Mr. Lincoln wanted, in the words of Henry Clay, to "sweep from our capital the foul blot on our nation."

In regard to the fifth proposition, which referred to the abolition of the slave trade between the states, Mr. Lincoln said he had not given it the mature consideration that would justify him in making a positive statement. If he could be convinced, however, that congress had the power to abolish such traffic, he would not favor its exercise except upon some conservative principle similar to that which should govern the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

Mr. Lincoln's attitude on the sixth question, concerning the prohibition of slavery in the territories had been clearly defined. He had also fully committed himself against the admission of any more slave territory unless slavery should be first prohibited therein.



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS



Mr. Lincoln, in these answers, had burned his bridges behind him. He repelled the insinuation that he shaded his opinions to meet various geographical requirements. These moderate statements had been made to a vast audience as strongly tending to abolitionism as any that could be assembled in Illinois. If they were offensive anywhere in the state, they would be repudiated in the northern counties, which constituted the stronghold of the new faith. Lincoln told the truth, as he saw it, regardless of consequences. The people knew it and trusted him.

Despite his conservatism, Mr. Lincoln's answers were frank and adroit. Douglas had gained nothing by his Socratic method of argument. He had rather given his opponent an opportunity to show his own consummate skill in propounding questions. After the first debate at Ottawa, Mr. Lincoln had not only carefully prepared his own replies, but he had elaborated a series of questions designed to embarrass Senator Douglas, which he could not answer without sooner or later invoking disaster upon his political fortunes.

A few days before the debate at Freeport, Mr. Lincoln went to Chicago and took some of his friends into his confidence. He outlined the questions he proposed to propound to Douglas. Lincoln's friends sought to dissuade him. They reasoned that if Douglas should reply that the Dred Scott decision might be evaded by the people of a territory, and slavery prohibited in the face of it, the answer would draw to him the sympathies of the radical anti-slavery voters, and defeat Lincoln.

Mr. Lincoln, on the contrary, was anticipating the greater campaign two years later, and he was determined the south should understand the antagonism between Douglas' latest interpretation of popular sovereignty on the one hand, and the

Dred Scott decision, the Nebraska bill and previous platforms of the Democratic party on the other.

The national Democratic convention of 1856, which met in Cincinnati, had adopted a very elaborate series of resolutions on the subject of slavery. One resolution was cunningly devised. From one point of view it seemed to give the people of the territories the right to determine the question for themselves and upheld the doctrine of popular sovereignty. A closer analysis of this declaration, however, disclosed the fact that this "popular sovereignty" could not be exercised until the territory was sufficiently populated to adopt a constitution and apply for admission into the union. Meanwhile the slaveholders could settle in the territories, and be protected in the ownership of their slaves. James G. Blaine makes this comment on the territorial status: "The Democrats flatly opposed the doctrine of congressional prohibition, but left a margin for doubt as to the true construction of the constitution and of the act repealing the Missouri compromise, thus enabling their partisans to present one issue in the north and another in the south."

Douglas has been accused of being a party to this duplex construction of the Cincinnati platform. The people of the south had been led to believe that slavery would be protected by the constitution in the territories against the power of the citizens thereof, and against the authority of congress. This status would continue until, under an enabling act to form a constitution for a state government, the majority should decide the question. The south understood, in other words, that there was absolutely no power to keep slavery out of the territories during their territorial status. The doctrine of popular sovereignty, as defined by Douglas, was differently interpreted in the north. It was there believed the people of

the territories had the absolute right to settle the question for themselves. This doctrine, however, had been totally nullified by the Dred Scott decision, and Mr. Douglas had approved the opinion of the court.

All these facts were taken into account by Mr. Lincoln. Douglas might answer the crucial question and be elected senator. But Lincoln was a prophet. He was looking into the future. His friends admonished him that he was concerned only about the senatorship. "No," replied Mr. Lincoln, "not alone exactly. I am killing larger game. The great battle of 1860 is worth a thousand of this senatorial race." Perhaps he had some foregleam of the fact that he and Douglas would be rivals in the greater conflict.

Mr. Lincoln, in propounding his questions to Senator Douglas, naively remarked: "I will bring forward a new installment when I get them ready." His questions were as follows:

First: If the people of Kansas shall, by means entirely unobjectionable in all other respects, adopt a state constitution, and ask admission into the union under it, before they have the requisite number of inhabitants, according to the English bill—some ninety-three thousand—will you vote to admit them?

Second: Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?

Third: If the supreme court of the United States shall decide that states cannot exclude slavery from their limits, are you in favor of acquiescing in adopting and following such decision as a rule of political action?

Fourth: Are you in favor of acquiring additional ter-

ritory in disregard of how such acquisition may affect the nation on the slavery question?

In the first debate, when Douglas had the opening speech, it was the popular judgment that he had worsted Lincoln. A few days after the discussion Theodore Parker wrote to a friend: "In the Ottawa meeting, to judge from the Tribune report, I thought Douglas had the best of it. He questioned Mr. Lincoln on the great matters of slavery, and put the most radical questions . . . before the people. Mr. Lincoln did not meet the issue. He made a technical evasion. . . . Daniel Webster stood on higher anti-slavery ground than Abraham Lincoln does now." At Freeport the tide changed. Lincoln's star was now in the ascendant.

Mr. Douglas replied in *ad captandum* fashion to three of Mr. Lincoln's questions. The first and fourth he answered substantially in the affirmative. He displayed a good deal of temper in his reply to the third. He declared that Lincoln cast an imputation upon the supreme court of the United States by supposing it would violate the federal constitution. "I tell him that such a thing is not possible. It would be an act of moral treason that no man on the bench would ever descend to."

The second question was the crucial test. Douglas recognized his embarrassment. In the face of the Dred Scott decision by the supreme court, he could not affirm that the people of a territory could exclude slavery by direct enactment. If, he admitted, on the other hand, that slavery was fastened on the territories, without hope of resistance or protest on the part of a majority of the citizens, he would concede the very point for which Lincoln had contended. Douglas sought to extricate himself from this dilemma in this wise: "It matters not what way the supreme court may

hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a territory under the constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist for a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislature will favor its extension. Hence, no matter what the decision of the supreme court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a slave territory or a free territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska bill. I hope Mr. Lincoln deems my answer satisfactory on that point."

Mr. Douglas made this evasive answer with apparent sincerity and defiant confidence. It seemed plausible, but was not sound reasoning. Lincoln keenly analyzed this ingenious doctrine for destroying a constitutional right by a police regulation, and riddled it with a single sentence of sarcasm: "Under this new doctrine slavery may be driven away from a place where it has a lawful right to go."

Douglas, in this reply, signed his political death warrant. He was swept from his mooring without anchor or rudder. He was to win a temporary triumph in his return to the senate, but Time vindicated Lincoln's prophecy that "Douglas could not answer that question in such a way as to be elected both senator and president." Douglas could not break with his party in Illinois, but by his Freeport doctrine of unfriendly legislation he had broken forever with the men who were now in control of the southern Democracy. His new doctrine

was really in conflict with the Dred Scott decision, which Douglas had always defended. It was heralded throughout the southern states as evidence that he had been guilty of duplicity on the subject. He was accused of contending for the extension of slavery under the decision ; and for its exclusion under his later doctrine.

The discussion of these questions occupied only a portion of the time at Freeport, but these overshadowed all other phases, and the famous "Freeport debate" lives in history by reason of the questions asked and answered.

CHAPTER VIII

LAST DEBATE AT ALTON—DOUGLAS ASSAILS "HOUSE DIVIDED"
DOCTRINE AND DEFIES BUCHANAN — LINCOLN PUTS
QUESTION ON MORAL BASIS—THE ELECTIONS—DOUGLAS
WINS—A FINAL COMPARISON.

THE joint debates at Jonesboro, Charleston, Galesburg and Quincy were for the most part re-statements of the positions enunciated in the two previous discussions; and the author's purpose will be subserved by briefly reviewing the seventh and last, which was held at Alton, October 15.

Mr. Douglas opened the discussion with a speech of great force. In directness of statement, in precision of phrase, in boldness of spirit akin to audacity it was one of his most characteristic addresses. If it lacked some of the elements of an oratorical masterpiece it was the best possible argument for his favorite doctrine of squatter sovereignty, which had been emasculated by the Dred Scott decision.

During the seven weeks preceeding the debate at Ottawa Lincoln and Douglas had addressed large audiences in many of the central counties of the state. In his speeches at Springfield and Chicago Mr. Lincoln had enunciated three general propositions. These were: That the country could not permanently endure half slave and half free; a criticism of the Dred Scott decision; that the declaration of independence was intended by the fathers to include the negro.

Mr. Douglas again boldly and flatly contradicted the "house divided" doctrine as a slander upon the distinguished

framers of the constitution. He believed the government could endure forever divided into free and slave states, as the fathers had made it, with each state having the right to prohibit, abolish or sustain slavery as it pleases. The fathers knew the laws and institutions which were well adapted to the Green mountains of Vermont were unsuitable to the rice plantations of South Carolina. They knew that in a republic of such gigantic proportions, with its variety of soil, climate and interests, there must be corresponding differences in local laws. Thus the union was established on the right of each state to be a law unto itself in dealing with slavery.

Mr. Douglas supposes for the sake of argument that the doctrine of Lincoln and the Abolitionists had prevailed when the constitution was framed. He imagines the situation if his opponent had been a member of the constitutional convention and that when its members were about to sign that immortal document, Mr. Lincoln had said, "A house divided against itself cannot stand." The union was then composed of thirteen states, twelve of which were slave and one was free. Douglas argued that under Lincoln's doctrine, the twelve slave states would have outvoted the one free state, and thus fastened slavery by constitutional provision, upon every foot of the American republic forever. The question now before the voters of Illinois, says Douglas, is, whether they are willing, having become the majority section, to enforce a doctrine on the minority which they would have resisted with their heart's blood, had it been attempted when they were such minority. The south had lost her power as the majority section in the union, and the free states had gained it by the operation of that principle which declares the right of the people of each state and territory to regulate their domestic institutions in their own way. It was under that

principle that slavery was abolished in New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; it was under that principle that one-half of the slave-holding states became free; under it the number of free states had increased until they could control both houses of congress and elect a president without the aid of a southern state.

After accusing Mr. Lincoln of crawfishing in regard to the questions propounded at Ottawa, Mr. Douglas made an elaborate defense of his course on the Lecompton constitution and his consequent break with President Buchanan. He asserted that the president had sought to coerce him, and he defied the executive in these words: "I resisted this invasion of the constitutional rights of a senator, and I intend to resist it as long as I have a voice to speak or a vote to give."

Mr. Douglas urged the Democratic party to stand together, as the Democrats and Whigs, under the leadership of Cass and Clay, had united their forces in 1850 in support of the compromise measures. He affirmed in conclusion, the signers of the declaration of independence when they declared all men created equal, "did not mean the negro, nor the savage Indians, nor the Fejee Islanders. They were speaking of white men," and that the government "should be administered by white men and none other."

Mr. Lincoln began his reply by complimenting Senator Douglas on the fact that he was gradually improving in his warfare with the Buchanan administration. He rather delighted in the family quarrel, and urged the combatants to "go it husband, go it bear!" Douglas, he said, had undertaken to involve President Buchanan in an inconsistency. He reminded Douglas that while he was valiantly fighting for the Nebraska bill and the repeal of the Missouri compromise, it had been but a little while since he had been an ardent

advocate of that compromise. "I want to know," he says, "if Buchanan has not as much right to be inconsistent as Douglas has? Has Douglas the exclusive right in this country of being on all sides of all questions? Is nobody allowed that high privilege but himself? Is he to have an entire monopoly on that subject?"

In this last speech Mr. Lincoln arose to a height of moral grandeur. He planted himself squarely upon the solid rock of eternal and absolute truth. He uttered words that went to the very heart of the matter. Slavery was an economic, political and moral wrong. He denied, it is true, he had ever complained that the supreme court, in the Dred Scott decision, had declared that a negro could never become a citizen of the United States. Mr. Lincoln, however, had never taken an advanced position on the political rights of the negro. He believed the authors of the declaration of independence intended to include all men in their declaration of equality, but did not mean to declare all men equal in all respects. The fathers did not mean to say men were equal in intellect, nor in moral or social development. They defined with reasonable distinctness their belief that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are the inalienable rights of all men. They did not mean to assert the obvious untruth that all men were actually enjoying that equality, nor that it was to be immediately conferred upon them. The makers of the constitution had no power to confer this equality. They simply meant to declare the right, so that its enforcement might come as soon as circumstances would permit.

Mr. Lincoln challenged Senator Douglas to prove that up to three or four years previous to these joint discussions, the declaration of independence, in the minds of the fathers, did not include the negro in the term "all men." There were

men who found this assertion in the way of their schemes, and they denied its truth. Senator Petit, of Indiana, had declared that the declaration of independence was a "self-evident lie" rather than a self-evident truth.

The principle upon which Mr. Lincoln insisted in this canvass related to the founding of new societies. He had never sought to apply it to the old states, for the purpose of abolishing slavery therein. He declared it a miserable perversion of his utterances to assume that Missouri or any other slave state should emancipate her slaves.

Mr. Douglas maintained throughout these debates that the fathers "made" the republic part slave and part free. Mr. Lincoln denied this statement, and clearly had the facts of history to sustain him. Lincoln insisted that the fathers "found" the institution existing among them and left it as they found it. They recognized the absolute impossibility of its immediate removal, but they did place distinctive marks of their disapproval upon it. Lincoln developed this thought with great clearness and force in his speech at Quincy, when he said: "In the first place, I insist that our fathers did not make this nation half slave and half free, or part slave and part free. I insist that they found the institution of slavery existing here. They did not make it so, but they left it so because they knew no way to get rid of it at that time. When Judge Douglas undertakes to say that, as a matter of choice, the fathers of the government made this nation part slave and part free, he assumes what is historically a falsehood. More than that: When the fathers of the government cut off the source of slavery by the abolition of the slave trade, and adopted a system of restricting it from the new territories where it had not existed, I maintain that they placed it where they understood, and all sensible men understood, it

was in the course of ultimate extinction; and even Judge Douglas asks me why it cannot continue as our fathers made it. I ask him why he and his friends could not let it remain as our fathers made it?"

Mr. Douglas in upholding the right of the states to regulate their own domestic affairs, vehemently defended a principle that Mr. Lincoln never denied. The latter would have no controversy with his opponent on that score, although Douglas always sought to befog the popular mind on the subject. But Mr. Lincoln denied that there was any parallel between the institution of slavery and other varied pursuits of the states arising from differences in soil and climate. There had never been any trouble over the cranberry laws of Indiana, or the oyster laws of Virginia or the pine lumber laws of Maine, or the fact that Louisiana produces sugar and Illinois flour. Slavery, on the other hand, had always been an element of discord. The country had been at peace when there was no discussion of the question; but there has been turmoil whenever the Slave-Power has made an effort to extend its dominion. History speaks in thunder tones, affirming that the policy which has given peace to the country heretofore gives the greatest assurance of peace for the future. The struggles over the Missouri compromise, the annexation of Texas and the compromises of 1850 sprang from attempts to enlarge the borders of slave territory. No party can ever disturb the peace of the country; but slavery has divided the church itself. It has rent in twain the Methodists and Presbyterians, and brought discord into other religious bodies. "What has jarred and shaken the great American Tract society recently, not yet splitting it, but sure to divide it in the end? Is it not this same mighty, deep-seated power that somehow operates on the minds of men, exciting and stirring

them in every avenue of society—in politics, in religion, in literature, in morals, in all the manifold relations of life?"

Douglas was fighting a man of straw when he assumed that Lincoln was contending against the right of the states to do as they pleased in the matter. His controversy with Douglas concerned the new territories. Lincoln disclaimed any power as citizens of the free states, or as members of the federal union, through the general government, to disturb slavery in the states where it already existed. Lincoln was not making war upon the rights of "states." He would keep the territories free from the blight of slavery while in a territorial condition. He compressed the philosophy of the situation into these words: "If you go to the territory opposed to slavery, and another man comes upon the same ground with his slave, upon the assumption that the things are equal, it turns out that he has the equal right all his way, and you have no part of it your way. If he goes in and makes it a slave territory and by consequence a slave state, is it not time that those who would have it a free state were on equal ground?"

Mr. Douglas raised a false issue when he assumed that Lincoln was in favor of introducing social and political equality between the races; but Lincoln always repudiated that doctrine. His oft-repeated assertion that the country could not permanently endure half slave and half free, was made purely as an economic proposition. But Lincoln believed that an economic wrong is a moral wrong. Henceforth he appeals to the conscience as well as to the judgment of his hearers. The real issue in the country, he says, is between those who believe the institution of slavery is wrong, and those who do not so believe. The Republican party regards slavery as an evil. "It is the sentiment around which all their actions—all their arguments circle—from which all their proposi-

tions radiate." The party, nevertheless, has a due regard for its actual existence in the country, the constitutional obligations thrown around it, and the difficulty of its removal. The party desires a policy that will not allow the danger to spread; it insists that as far as possible it shall be treated as a wrong. One way of thus regarding it is to prohibit its extension. The interrogatory form of argument was often used by Lincoln with great effectiveness. He had a genius and a passion for asking hard questions. Much of the philosophy of American history is compressed into these two: "Has anything ever threatened the existence of this union save and except this very institution of slavery? What has ever threatened our liberty and prosperity save and except this institution of slavery?"

Mr. Lincoln rises to the "height of this great argument" and defines the issue with the skill of a master, in these impressive words: "That is the real issue. That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between these two principles—right and wrong—throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity, and the other is the divine right of kings. It is the same principle, in whatever shape it develops itself."

The election occurred on the second day of November. James Miller, the Republican candidate for state treasurer, received 125,430 votes; William B. Fondy, Democrat, received 121,609; and John Dougherty, Buchanan Democrat, 5,071. Newton Bateman was elected superintendent of pub-

lic instruction, over A. C. French and John Reynolds, both former governors.

Under the apportionment of February 27, 1854, there were twenty-five senators and seventy-five members in the house, making a total of one hundred in the general assembly. Mr. Lincoln received of the popular vote a majority of over four thousand; but the apportionment was such that the legislature was against him. There were eleven Republicans and fourteen Democrats in the senate and thirty-five Republicans and forty Democrats in the house. On the joint ballot Lincoln received forty-six votes; Douglas received fifty-four votes, and was elected. Mr Lincoln took his defeat philosophically. In a letter to a friend he said: "The cause of civil liberty must not be surrendered at the end of one or even one hundred defeats." He had suffered a political defeat, but had won a glorious moral victory.

The November election resulted in the choice of four Republican congressmen and five Democrats, as follows: First district, E. B. Washburne; Second, John F. Farnsworth; Third, Owen Lovejoy; Fourth, William Kellogg; Fifth, Isaac N. Morris; Sixth, Thomas L. Harris; Seventh, Aaron Shaw; Eighth, Robert Smith; Ninth, Samuel S. Marshall. The first four were Republicans and the last five Democrats.

A feature of this session of the legislature was the passage by both houses of a legislative apportionment bill, which gerrymandered the state in the interest of the Democrats. The bill was vetoed by Governor Bissell.

Emerson says an institution is the lengthened shadow of a man. Great moral reforms and world-movements become incarnated in men. The word must ever become flesh and dwell among men. There are born leaders who seem to

belong to the elemental forces and men feel their power as they feel the grandeur of the mountain and the sea.

Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln were the foremost Americans of their time. The eyes of the nation and the world were upon them. From the death of Henry Clay to 1860, Douglas was the most commanding figure in a senate of great men. He was America's nearest approach to the first Napoleon. Douglas, like Napoleon, was Ambition's child and king. Sumner, Seward and Chase were with him in the senate, but in marvelous readiness and headlong force he was master of them all. He was the "Little Giant." But the "iron pen" of history must be just. Stephen A. Douglas, throughout his distinguished career, never said that slavery was wrong. He expressed his indifference as to whether it was "voted up or down." He eliminated the moral element from the supreme issue of the hour.

Lincoln was the antithesis of Douglas. He was ready to die that his cause might triumph. He believed in the moral order of the world, and that his own beloved country had grievously transgressed that order. Like the prophets of old, he "cried aloud and spared not." Lincoln had his appointed task. He had a practical method of solving the problem. He would arouse the conscience of the nation until it should compel a reversal of the Dred Scott decision, and a new judicial rule established upon the subject. He would place slavery where the fathers placed it, and then trust the evolution of the moral sense of his countrymen to effect its ultimate extinction. The divided house was to be united, but not in the way that Lincoln had hoped. The reunion would not come until colossal forces had shaken our broad territory and made its foundations tremble under the tread of uncounted legions.

CHAPTER IX

ILLINOIS REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION OF 1860—RICHARD YATES NOMINATED FOR GOVERNOR—NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION — LINCOLN NOMINATED — INCIDENTS OF THE CAMPAIGN—LINCOLN ELECTED AND INAUGURATED—EARLY EVENTS OF 1861.

IN 1860 Illinois had become the eleventh state in the union in wealth and population. With her commercial metropolis on Lake Michigan she was to be henceforth the keystone in the magnificent arch of great western states. Illinois occupied a corresponding place in the political history of the nation. Under the apportionment of 1861 she was to be entitled to thirteen congressmen, besides one for the state at large. This was a gain of six since 1850. The national Republican convention of 1860 was held in Chicago, when Abraham Lincoln was nominated for president of the United States. Stephen A. Douglas was the nominee of one of the wings of the disrupted Democracy for the same office. These nominations were the outcome of the joint debates two years before.

With the opening of this eventful year Mr. Lincoln was frequently mentioned for the presidency. Lincoln at first discouraged the efforts of his friends. In the preceding March he had sent this message to Thomas J. Pickett: "Seriously, I do not think I am fit for the presidency."

The first organized effort in behalf of Mr. Lincoln was taken at a meeting held in the state house early in 1860, in the office of O. M. Hatch, secretary of state. Besides Mr. Hatch

there were present Norman B. Judd, chairman of the Republican state committee; Leonard Swett, Jesse K. Dubois, Lawrence Weldon, A. C. Babcock, William Butler, John Bunn, Ebenezer Peck, Jackson Grimshaw, Ward H. Lamon and other leaders. Mr. Lamon afterward wrote a life of Lincoln. These gentlemen asked Lincoln if they could use his name as a candidate for president. Mr. Lincoln wanted to defer his answer until the next day. Late in the afternoon he authorized his friends, if they thought proper, to place him in the field.

Mr. Lincoln had already received recognition from an unexpected source. In the preceding October a committee in New York City extended him an invitation to visit the metropolis and deliver an address. After giving the subject much thought he accepted the invitation and notified the committee that he would visit New York late in February, and discuss the political issues of the day. His address is known as the famous "Cooper institute speech." Lincoln evidently realized the significance of this opportunity and spent much of the intervening time in the preparation of his speech. It was a masterful effort, characterized by precision of statement, simplicity of language, unity of thought and, withal, a perfect sincerity that carried conviction. The New York dailies published the speech in full and the fact that he had captured the metropolis was known and read of all men. From New York Lincoln went to New England, and made speeches in Rhode Island and Connecticut, where he made a profound impression.

Mr. Lincoln received a great ovation on his return to Springfield. From that time he began to consider himself as a presidential possibility. His ambition was aroused, and he wrote to party leaders throughout the state. One of his biographers says: "I believe the idea prevails that Lincoln

sat still in his chair at Springfield and that one of those unlooked-for tides in human affairs came along and cast the nomination into his lap. . . . The truth is, Lincoln was as vigilant as he was ambitious, and there is no denying the fact that he perfectly understood the situation from the start."

The Illinois state Republican convention assembled on the 9th of May. The sessions were held in a wigwam erected for the purpose. Every county in the state except Pulaski was represented and Judge Joseph Gillespie was chosen to preside. There were three candidates for governor: Richard Yates, of Morgan county; Norman B. Judd, of Cook, and Leonard Swett, of McLean. Judd led on the informal ballot, with 245 votes; Swett 191 and Yates 183. Yates gained fourteen over Swett on the first formal ballot. Judd also made a gain. Yates and Judd made gains over Swett on the second ballot. The third ballot stood: Judd, 252; Yates, 238; Swett, 246. On the fourth ballot Swett's friends went to Yates. He received 363 votes and was nominated.

Francis A. Hoffman, of Cook, was nominated for lieutenant-governor; Jesse K. Dubois, auditor; Ozias M. Hatch, secretary of state; William Butler, treasurer; and Newton Bateman, superintendent of public instruction.

The delegates from Illinois to the national Republican convention at Chicago, chosen at Decatur, were: at large, Norman B. Judd, Gustavus Koerner, David Davis and Orville H. Browning; First district, Jason Marsh, Solon Cummings; Second, George Schneider, George T. Smith; Third, Burton C. Cook, Oliver L. Davis; Fourth, Henry Grove, E. W. Hazard; Fifth, William Ross, James S. Erwin; Sixth, Stephen T. Logan, Nathan M. Knapp; Seventh Thomas A. Marshall, William P. Dole; Eighth, F. S. Rutherford, David K. Green; Ninth, James C. Sloo, David L. Phelps.

The presidential electors for Illinois were: John M. Palmer, Leonard Swett, Allen C. Fuller, William B. Plato, Lawrence Weldon, William Pitt Kellogg, James Stark, James C. Conkling, Henry P. H. Bromwell, Thomas C. Allen, John Olney.

The result of the Decatur convention was "big with the fate of Cato and of Rome." Within one year, Abraham Lincoln, as president of the United States, would need a tower of strength in the executive chair of his own commonwealth. The confidence reposed in Richard Yates by the people of Illinois was not betrayed. He became their illustrious war governor and his fame is secure.

Mr. Yates was born in Warsaw, Gallatin county, Kentucky, January 18, 1815. His father, Henry Yates, impressed with the evil of slavery, removed in 1831 to the free state of Illinois and settled in Sangamon county. Richard graduated in 1835 from Illinois college at Jacksonville and made that city his permanent home. He read law in the office of General John J. Hardin, and entered upon its practice. The legal profession is often an "open sesame" to the arena of politics, and so it proved to Richard Yates. He entered political life as an ardent Whig, a believer in the principles of Webster and Clay. In 1842 he was elected a member of the general assembly from Morgan county. He was re-elected in 1844 and again in 1848. In 1850 Mr. Yates was elected a member of congress from the Seventh district, and was the only Whig who was thus honored in Illinois that year. His Democratic opponent was Major Thomas L. Harris. The state was reapportioned in 1852, and Morgan county was placed in the Sixth district. Mr. Yates was elected over John Calhoun. He was renominated in 1854, but was defeated by his old rival, Major Harris, by a plurality of two hundred.



RICHARD YATES

Richard Yates brought to the executive chair a legislative experience of ten years, six in the legislature and four in congress. His address was courteous and there was a rare charm in his personality. The people of Illinois loved Richard Yates better than he loved himself. As a public speaker, says his old friend, Dr. William Jayne, "he belongs to that group of orators in which are classed Emery Storrs, Owen Lovejoy and Robert Ingersoll."

The great event of the convention was the endorsement of Abraham Lincoln for president. This was the first public movement in Illinois in behalf of her favorite son. It came after all the nominations had been made, and was so sudden that it was a surprise to the convention itself. It is the function of the orator to interpret the deepest feeling of a people to themselves. This was the rare fortune of Richard J. Oglesby at Decatur, when, as "Uncle Dick" would say, he "got off on the right foot first," and made a speech that was like touching a torch to powder. The hour and the man had met, and Oglesby's impassioned tribute to Abraham Lincoln electrified his countrymen. At the psychological moment "Old John Hanks" came up the aisle carrying two fence-rails which were made by himself and his kinsman Lincoln on the Sangamon bottom in 1830. In the midst of this unsuppressed enthusiasm instructions for Lincoln were unanimously adopted and the convention adjourned.

The Democratic state convention assembled at Springfield June 13. Hon. William McMurty presided. Judge James C. Allen, of Crawford county, was nominated for governor on the second ballot. He had served one term in the legislature and two terms in congress. L. W. Ross was nominated for lieutenant-governor; G. H. Campbell, for secretary of state;

Bernard Arntzen, auditor; Hugh Maher, treasurer; E. R. Roe, superintendent of public instruction.

State conventions were also held by the Buchanan wing of the Democracy and by the followers of the Bell-Everett movement. The former convention nominated T. M. Hope for governor, and Thomas Snell for lieutenant-governor. John T. Stuart headed the Bell-Everett ticket for governor, and Henry S. Blackburn was nominated for lieutenant-governor.

The national Republican convention assembled at Chicago May 16. For a year preceding the convention it was conceded that William H. Seward would be nominated. He seemed the logical candidate. For twelve years he had been at the front of the battle in the senate, where he had expounded the doctrine of the "irrepressible conflict" and the "higher law." Moreover, his campaign was in the hands of Thurlow Weed, the most sagacious politician of his time, and William M. Evarts, who had attained great eminence as an orator and lawyer. Mr. Seward's availability, however, did not go unchallenged. He had been so conspicuous and so radical that his strength was discredited. He was also seriously injured by the open defection of Horace Greeley.

Meanwhile there were other candidates, most of whom proved to have only the strength of favorite sons. Ohio presented Salmon P. Chase; Pennsylvania named Simon Cameron; New Jersey wanted William L. Dayton; Missouri urged the claims of Edward Bates; while Vermont favored Jacob Collamer. Mr. Lincoln's campaign was managed with consummate skill. Never did a candidate for the presidency have more sagacious and enthusiastic supporters. Among the chief in counsel were Judge David Davis, Leonard Swett, Norman B. Judd and Orville H. Browning. Lincoln's friends would have been content at one time with his

nomination for vice-president; but as the convention drew near, opposition to Seward became more threatening. It was at this opportune time that the state convention presented Lincoln's name with an eclat that could not fail to find an echo in Chicago. The selection of Chicago as the convention city was fortunate for Lincoln. Mr. Blaine, in recognizing the power of the mob, that has dethroned kings and dictated candidates, says it is doubtful if Lincoln could have been nominated in any city outside of Illinois.

The convention was held in the historic "wigwam," erected on the lake front for this purpose. David Wilmot was chosen temporary chairman; while the honor of permanent presiding officer was accorded George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, an old Webster Whig.

The result can be briefly told. Three ballots were taken. The first resulted in 173½ votes for Seward and 102 for Lincoln. There were 190 delegates holding the balance of power, who divided their support between Bates, Cameron, Chase, Collamer, Dayton and McLean. On the second ballot Seward received 184½, and Lincoln 181. On the third ballot Lincoln received 231½ votes, only one and a half less than the number needed to nominate. During the progress of the last ballot Mr. Carter, of Ohio, changed four votes of that state from Chase to Lincoln. The result was quickly followed by a motion to make Lincoln's nomination unanimous. The happy result was achieved without offense to the other candidates, and was in itself an omen of victory. Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, was nominated for vice-president.

The Democratic national convention assembled in Charleston, South Carolina, April 23 preceding. The northern Democracy was loyal to Douglas, but he had hope-

lessly fallen from grace in the estimation of the south, for which he had done so much. No nomination was possible, and on May 3 the convention adjourned to meet in Baltimore, June 18. The disrupted Democracy failed to reunite. The northern wing nominated Douglas for president and Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, for vice-president. The southern delegates nominated John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, for president, and Joseph Lane, of Oregon, for vice-president.

The Constitutional Union party, representing the successors of the old Whigs and Americans, met at Baltimore and nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, for president and vice-president, respectively.

Every shade of political opinion was represented in the four presidential tickets. Excitement in Illinois throughout the campaign was intense. Both of the leading parties had many distinguished speakers. Among the Republicans were Richard Yates, Lyman Trumbull, Owen Lovejoy, John Wentworth, Stephen A. Hurlbut, John M. Palmer, Richard J. Oglesby, Shelby M. Cullom, Thomas J. Henderson, William Pitt Kellogg, Isaac N. Arnold, John F. Farnsworth, Joseph G. Cannon and Smith D. Atkins. Among those on the Democratic side were Robert G. Ingersoll, John A. Logan, William R. Morrison, John A. Rawlins, William A. Richardson, John A. McClernand and Green B. Raum.

For the first time in twenty years the voice of Abraham Lincoln was not heard in a political campaign in Illinois. Douglas, on the other hand, broke all precedents for a presidential candidate, and went directly before the people.

A notable incident of the campaign was a series of debates in the Fourth congressional district between Robert G. Ingersoll and Judge William Kellogg. Notwithstanding Ingersoll

was an ardent Douglas Democrat, he savagely attacked the Dred Scott decision and took a more advanced position on the great moral issue than his Republican opponent. Clark E. Carr, who heard him at Galesburg, says: "I have always believed that Robert G. Ingersoll was the greatest orator who ever stood before a public audience." Ingersoll became a Republican the day Fort Sumter was bombarded.

During September and October joint discussions were held by Judge Allen C. Fuller, of Belvidere, and John A. Rawlins, of Galena. One debate was held in each county in the First congressional district. Judge Fuller was the Republican candidate for presidential elector, and Mr. Rawlins was the candidate of the Douglas Democracy. These debates have a historic interest by reason of the subsequent prominence of the participants. Judge Fuller became the war adjutant of the state and in this capacity he displayed great executive ability, and was the able supporter of Governor Yates in the organization of the military forces of the state. Mr. Rawlins was the confidential friend and adviser of General Grant during his campaigns, and in 1869 entered Grant's cabinet as secretary of war.

The election resulted in the triumph of the Republican party for the first time in Illinois. The Lincoln electors received 172,171 votes; Douglas, 160,205; Union party, 4,913; Independent Democrat, 2,332.

For members of congress four Republicans were elected, as follows: First district, E. B. Washburne; Second, Isaac N. Arnold; Third, Owen Lovejoy; Fourth, William Kellogg. The five Democratic members were: Fifth district, John A. McClernand; Sixth, William A. Richardson; Seventh, James C. Robinson; Eighth, Philip B. Fouke; Ninth, John A. Logan.

The Republicans carried both branches of the legislature. Their majority was one in the senate and seven in the house.

Events moved rapidly in the early months of 1861. The general assembly convened January 7. Shelby M. Cullom was elected speaker of the house. Mr. Cullom was urged to become a candidate by Stephen A. Hurlbut, of Boone, and Lawrence S. Church, of McHenry. January 10 the two houses met in joint session for the election of a United States senator. The Republicans favored the re-election of Lyman Trumbull, and the Democrats supported Samuel S. Marshall. Trumbull was chosen by a vote of fifty-four to forty-six. "The Nemesis of Fate," says John Moses, "with exact mathematical accuracy, reversed the ballot of two years before, which had resulted in the election of Douglas."

Governor Yates was inaugurated January 14. His inaugural address, which discussed the impending crisis, was a remarkable state paper, which brought new courage to the hearts of his countrymen.

One of the acts of the assembly was the new legislative apportionment, approved January 31. The state was divided into twenty-five senatorial districts, with an equal number of senators. There were sixty-five representative districts, from which eighty-five members were to be elected. Previous to 1870 senatorial and representative districts did not comprise the same territory.

February 2, in response to an invitation from the state of Virginia, Governor Yates appointed commissioners to the peace conference at Washington. They were Stephen T. Logan, John M. Palmer, John Wood, Burton C. Cook and Thomas J. Turner. Mr. Wood as lieutenant-governor, had filled out the unexpired term of Governor Bissell, who died March 18, 1860.

In March it became necessary for Mr. Lincoln to know whether there was any loyal sentiment in South Carolina. He sent Stephen A. Hurlbut, of Belvidere, on a special mission to Charleston, his native city. Ward H. Lamon accompanied him. James L. Petigru, with whom Hurlbut had read law four years, was the only union man of prominence then in Charleston. Mr. Hurlbut consulted with his former law instructor, and reported to Mr. Lincoln that there was no attachment to the union, and that the sentiment of South Carolina was unanimous for separation.

Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated president of the United States March 4, 1861. Never was poetic justice more strikingly illustrated. Roger B. Taney, chief justice of the supreme court, whose Dred Scott decision had precipitated the political revolution, administered the oath of office. Stephen A. Douglas, a life-long rival, held Lincoln's hat when he subscribed to the oath. When, three months later, the curtain fell upon the brilliant career of Stephen A. Douglas, he was still, at only forty-eight years of age, "resolute, vigorous, commanding." He was the second man in the nation. Abraham Lincoln was first.

The election of Lincoln was perhaps the most notable event in the history of the nation. He was the divinely appointed man for the hour. Such men are instruments in the consummation of the divine purpose. It was said of Cyrus in the olden time, "I girded thee though thou hast not known me." There seem to be certain superhuman adjustments that philosophy does not explain, that work out righteous results. Human wisdom does not foresee them; they do not destroy human freedom, but they do achieve their results with infallible certainty. The leaders in such events are like Aeneas in the fable: they are often covered with a

cloud woven by divine fingers, and men do not see them. But when they are needed the cloud breaks away and they stand before the world prepared to do their work. Such a man was Abraham Lincoln. He was called to lead in a war made holy by the quickened moral conscience of the nation. Poets and reformers and statesmen had cast up the highway for the King, who should visit the nation with chastening. This judgment day was at hand because Phillips, and Garrison and Sumner had come; because Whittier and Lowell and Harriet Beecher Stowe had come; because Lincoln and Seward and Chase had come; because Grant and Sherman and Sheridan had come; because the great and terrible day of the Lord had come!

CHAPTER X

OUTBREAK OF CIVIL WAR—DOUGLAS' SPEECH AT SPRINGFIELD
—CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION—CONSTITUTION RE-
PUDIATED—REVERSES OF 1862—LEGISLATURE PRO-
ROGUED BY GOVERNOR YATES—OGLESBY NOMINATED
FOR GOVERNOR—LINCOLN RENOMINATED—COLONEL
INGERSOLL'S PRAYER—THE ELECTIONS.

APRIL 15, 1861, the day following the surrender of Fort Sumter, President Lincoln issued a call for seventy-five thousand volunteers to subdue "combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, and to cause the laws to be duly executed." Governor Yates immediately convened the legislature in special session. The regular session had adjourned February 22, after a service of forty-seven days.

The special session convened April 23. The sentiment of loyalty to the union, irrespective of party, was dominant in both houses. The secretary of war notified Governor Yates that the quota of Illinois, under the president's call, was six regiments of militia; and it became the first duty of the general assembly to provide for the organization and equipment of these regiments.

While the legislature was in session Senator Douglas arrived in Springfield from Washington. He had been asked by President Lincoln to visit Illinois, where there was much disunion sentiment. Upon invitation he addressed the two houses in joint session on the evening of April 25. The senator was introduced by Mr. Cullom, speaker of the house. It was

during this speech that Senator Douglas uttered his celebrated dictum that in the present crisis there are only two parties, "patriots and traitors." "It is a duty we owe to ourselves, and our children, and our God, to protect this government, and that flag, from every assailant, be he who he may." These words meant more to the union, coming from Stephen A. Douglas at this time, than they would from any other living American. The "Little Giant" was never more masterful. It was the farewell message of a great senator in the capitol of a great state which had honored him to idolatry. His Springfield speech probably saved Illinois to the union. It was the turning point in the life of John A. Logan, who had a great personal following. He espoused the union cause and became an ardent Republican.

The legislature provided for the creation of a war fund of \$2,000,000 and enacted other needful war legislation. The state was divided into thirteen congressional districts. By an error in the apportionment the number of congressmen was fixed at thirteen, although the state was entitled to fourteen. The error was corrected by electing one member from the state at large. The legislature adjourned May 3, after a session of eleven days.

Governor Yates appointed O. H. Browning to succeed Stephen A. Douglas in the United States senate until the vacancy should be filled by a regular election.

An act of the general assembly approved January 31, 1861, provided for the calling of a constitutional convention to amend the state constitution. The act provided for the election of seventy-five delegates and these were chosen at an election held in November, 1861. The people had become so absorbed in the prosecution of the war that too little attention was paid to the selection of delegates. The Democrats, whose

leaders were watchful of their advantage, secured forty-five delegates; the Republicans elected twenty-one; seven were classed as Fusionists, and two as doubtful. Among the Democratic members was Melville W. Fuller, who was appointed chief justice of the supreme court of the United States by President Cleveland. John Wentworth, of Chicago, and Luther W. Lawrence, of Boone county, were leaders on the Republican side. The delegate from Winnebago county was Porter Sheldon.

The convention assembled at Springfield January 7, 1862. William A. Hacker was chosen president, and William M. Springer, secretary. The history of Illinois furnishes no parallel to the impertinence and arrogance displayed by the dominant element in the convention. Some of the members refused to take the oath prescribed by the statute which called them together. They assumed a dictatorial policy toward all departments of the state government. They demanded reports from officers in the field. Major Quincy McNeil, of the Second Illinois cavalry, sent a stinging retort to the chairman of the committee on military affairs, from which a few lines are quoted: "Should I give you the information the resolution calls for, I should make as great an ass of myself as the convention has of you, by asking you to attend to that which is none of your business. . . . If I am rightly informed, you were elected to make a convention for the state of Illinois. Why in h— don't you do it?" The convention seriously debated whether it did not have the power to elect a United States senator, to succeed O. H. Browning. Governor Yates became exasperated to the limit of endurance and informed the convention, in response to a request for a certain report that "he did not acknowledge the right of the convention to instruct him in the performance of his duty." The climax was reached

when the convention, which was simply called to amend the constitution, submitted an entirely new constitution.

The convention continued in session until March 24. Only fifty-four names were signed to the instrument. Messrs. Wentworth, Sheldon and Anthony were the only Republicans who affixed their names and the latter two did so by proxy.

The proposed constitution was submitted to the people, at a special election June 17, and was repudiated by a majority of over sixteen thousand votes.

In the summer of 1862 popular interest was divided between events in the field and the election in November. A year before party lines had been practically obliterated in Illinois, as the people rallied to the support of the government in the prosecution of the war. This unanimity had been changed by the progress of events. The reverses sustained during the first year of the war could not fail to have a political significance.

President Lincoln's early conservatism on the slavery question had contributed an element of strength to his war policy. As he became more aggressive, sharp political divisions arose. The slavery question was still the dividing issue, "and by a common instinct throughout the free states," says Mr. Blaine, "the Democrats joined in the cry against an abolition war." The vote on the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, the proposal for compensated emancipation in the border states, and the act confiscating the property of rebels were on strict party lines in congress.

President Lincoln realized the danger, but his wisdom was sufficient for the hour. He knew slavery was the cause of the revolt, and its greatest source of strength. He therefore determined to strike the fatal blow. His monitory proclamation of emancipation, September 22, gave notice that on the first day of January, 1863, all persons held as slaves in states

which were in revolt against the union, should be forever free.

Under these conditions the Illinois state conventions assembled. The Republican convention was held September 24. Eben C. Ingersoll was nominated for member of congress for the state at large. William Butler and Newton Bateman were nominated for treasurer and superintendent of public instruction, respectively. The platform endorsed the emancipation proclamation "as a great and imperative war measure, essential to the salvation of the union."

The Democratic convention was held September 10. James C. Allen was nominated for congressman-at-large; Alexander Starne for treasurer, and John P. Brooks for superintendent of public instruction. The platform put the party on record in favor of the war, although it protested against the president's anti-slavery policy. The Democrats of Illinois were still frightened by the bugbear of abolition.

The result of the elections in November was a defeat for the Republicans. The Democrats elected their entire ticket by a majority of seventeen thousand, and seven of the fourteen representatives in congress. The delegation in congress was as follows: For the state at large, James C. Allen; First district, Isaac N. Arnold; Second district, John F. Farnsworth; Third, Elihu B. Washburne; Fourth, Charles M. Harris; Fifth, Owen Lovejoy; Sixth, Jesse O. Norton; Seventh, John R. Eden; Eighth, John T. Stuart; Ninth, Lewis W. Ross; Tenth, Anthony L. Knapp; Eleventh, James C. Robinson; Twelfth, William R. Morrison; Thirteenth, William J. Allen. Messrs. Arnold, Farnsworth, Washburne, Lovejoy, Norton and Stuart were Republicans. James C. Allen died at Olney, Illinois, January 30, 1912, the day following his ninetieth birthday.

The Democrats also carried both houses of the legislature. In the senate there were twelve Republicans and thirteen Democrats; in the house there were thirty Republicans and fifty-eight Democrats. The large number of soldiers in the field, who were deprived of the privilege of voting to uphold their president, was an important factor in this unfortunate result. Eleven states had provided for taking the votes of the soldiers in the field. Illinois did not make this provision.

Although Illinois had repudiated the anti-slavery policy of her great war president, the result throughout the country was an endorsement of the administration, which obtained a working majority in the lower house of congress.

The twenty-third general assembly has been justly pilloried by the historians of Illinois. It was dominated throughout by a body of men who devoted their time to violent attacks upon the war policy of President Lincoln. The assembly convened January 5, 1863. Samuel A. Buckmaster, of Madison county, was elected speaker. He received fifty-two votes; Luther W. Lawrence, of Boone, twenty-five, and Selden M. Church, of Winnebago, one vote.

On the evening of the day the legislature assembled, a meeting of those opposed to the administration was held in the house. The speakers denounced the president as a usurper and the war as barbarous.

On the following day Governor Yates fearlessly faced the majority against him in both houses, and delivered an address full of lofty patriotism. He defended the emancipation proclamation and insisted that every son of Illinois be loyal to the flag.

January 12 the legislature met in joint session for the election of a United States senator, to fill the unexpired term of Judge Douglas, which O. H. Browning was serving, under

appointment of Governor Yates. William A. Richardson received sixty-five votes and was elected. Richard Yates received thirty-eight votes.

Two sets of resolutions on the state of the war were introduced in the house. Those opposed to the administration were drawn by a committee of sixteen, one for each congressional district, and three for the state at large. The several resolutions were referred to the committee on federal relations. Majority and minority reports were presented February 4 and 5. The majority report embraced eleven resolutions, which embodied two general propositions: opposition to the war under present administrative methods; a demand for an armistice, the calling of a national convention to conclude terms of peace, and the appointment of commissioners to secure these results.

The majority report was adopted in the house February 12 by a vote of fifty-two to twenty-eight. The report was then sent to the senate. The death of J. M. Rogers, a Democratic senator, left the senate a tie, with a Republican presiding officer, and the scheme failed in the upper house. February 14 the legislature adjourned to June 2, when it was proposed to receive the report of the peace commissioners appointed under the resolutions.

The passage of the peace resolutions by the house was a surprise to the people of the state. Although they had elected a Democratic legislature there was a violent reaction against their representatives. The peace movement was impracticable and ignominiously failed.

The legislature reconvened June 2. There were no peace commissioners to hear from and the session was short-lived. It had proved a dismal failure, and finally the two houses could not agree upon a time for adjournment. At this juncture

Governor Yates availed himself of his constitutional prerogative, and on June 10 prorogued the legislature. These representatives of the people had attempted to array the president's own state against his war policy. They were outwitted by a patriotic and courageous governor. The majority in the house held that the action of the governor was illegal, but it was sustained by the supreme court of the state.

The Republican state convention assembled at Springfield May 25. A. J. Kuykendall presided. The candidates for governor were Richard J. Oglesby, Allen C. Fuller, Jesse K. Dubois and John M. Palmer. The real contest was between Oglesby and Fuller. The latter had made a remarkable record as adjutant-general of the state. General Fuller was the central figure of the war-power of Illinois, the forger of her thunderbolts, the splendid defender of her sons. General John C. Black once told the writer that General Fuller was a greater executive force than Edwin M. Stanton. Moreover, he received the unanimous support of twenty-two northern counties, which roll up the Republican majorities. General Fuller, however, had a most formidable rival in Richard J. Oglesby, the most greatly beloved officer in the western army.

On the informal ballot Oglesby received 283 votes; Fuller, 220; Dubois, 103; Palmer, 75. On the next ballot Oglesby received 358 out of 681 votes and was declared the nominee. William Bross was nominated for lieutenant-governor; Sharon Tyndale, secretary of state; Orlin H. Miner, auditor; James H. Beveridge, treasurer; Newton Bateman, superintendent of public instruction; Samuel W. Moulton, congressman-at-large.

The platform reported by the committee was too conservative and it was referred to a new committee. The amended platform was an enthusiastic endorsement of the administrations of President Lincoln and Governor Yates. The presi-

dential electors were: John Dougherty, Francis A. Hoffman, Benjamin M. Prentiss, John V. Farwell, Anson S. Miller, John V. Eustace, James S. Poague, John I. Bennett, William T. Hopkins, Franklin Blades, James C. Conkling, William Walker, Thomas W. Harris, N. M. McCurdy, Henry S. Baker, Z. S. Clifford.

The Democratic State convention was held at Springfield, June 15. William A. Hacker presided. Delegates to the national convention and presidential electors were appointed, but no ticket was nominated. The convention for nominating candidates met at Springfield September 6. The following ticket was named: Governor, James C. Robinson; lieutenant-governor, S. Corning Judd; auditor, John Hise; treasurer, Alexander Starne; secretary of state, William A. Turney; superintendent of public instruction, John P. Brooks; congressman-at-large, James C. Allen.

The national Republican convention assembled at Baltimore, June 7. The delegates from Illinois were: Burton C. Cook, Leonard Swett, J. A. Powell, Augustus H. Burley, Henry Dummer, John Huegly, J. Young Scammon, Lorenz Brentano, George Bangs, E. P. Ferry, J. Wilson Shaffer, James McCoy, Harrison Dills, Solon Burroughs, Henry F. Royce, Clark E. Carr, Joseph L. Braden, Washington Bushnell, George N. Rives, James Cone, R. K. Fell, James Brown, William A. Grimshaw, W. B. Green, Isaac L. Morrison, J. T. Alexander, William H. Robinson, T. H. Sams, John Thomas, William Copp, F. S. Rhodes, Morris P. Brown.

Early in the campaign the opposition to President Lincoln developed formidable proportions. The politicians in both houses of congress were against him and there were intriguing malcontents in his cabinet. But the tide suddenly turned as state after state sent delegates instructed for his renomination.

Lincoln would have been nominated by acclamation, had it not been for a master stroke of politics on the part of the president himself. Missouri sent rival delegations. The conservatives supported Lincoln, while the radicals were for General Grant. At a meeting of the Illinois delegation, a young man arose and urged the delegates to vote for the admission of the radical delegation from Missouri, and the delegates recognized the fact at once that Abraham Lincoln was speaking through his private secretary, John G. Nicolay.

The reason was obvious. When the radical delegation took their seats in the convention they were morally bound by its action. On the first ballot Lincoln received 484 votes, and Missouri gave her twenty-two votes to General Grant. Before the result was announced, however, Missouri changed her vote and Lincoln was unanimously renominated. The opposition could not say it was a Lincoln party instead of a Republican party, and all factions were united. Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, was nominated for vice-president. Six weeks before the election, John C. Fremont and John Cochrane, who had been nominated for president and vice-president by the Republican malcontents, withdrew from the field.

Colonel Clark E. Carr, in his "Day and Generation," tells an interesting incident of a Republican mass meeting at Quincy during this campaign. Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll was one of the speakers. His splendid tribute to the valor of the army closed with the following peroration: "God bless the soldiers of the army of the United States, wherever they may be—whether they be fighting on the hillside, the open plain or in the dark valley; whether weary and footsore on the long march, whether parched with thirst they are dying on the field, or are ministered to by loving hands in the hospitals, whether they be tossed upon the uncertain waves of the

great deep, whether they be writing letters to their friends by the dim light of the camp fire, or reading letters from home, God bless the soldiers of the army of the United States. God bless their friends and God damn their enemies!"

"Never did an orator," says Colonel Carr, "express the intensity of feeling of a great audience more completely than Robert Ingersoll in that prayer and philippic." Rev. Horatio Foote, a Congregational clergyman, and a brother of the late Hiram Foote, of Rockford, was seated on the platform, enthusiastically pounding his cane. Some one said to him: "Doctor, is not that blasphemous?" "Inspiration, gentlemen, inspiration," was Mr. Foote's reply as he continued to applaud.

At the election in November Lincoln received every electoral vote over McClellan, except those of New Jersey, Delaware and Kentucky. His majority in the popular vote was nearly half a million.

Mr. Lincoln's vote in Illinois was 189,496; McClellan's 158,730. The entire Republican state ticket was elected and both branches of the legislature were Republican. In the senate there were fourteen Republicans and eleven Democrats; in the house fifty-one Republicans and thirty-four Democrats. Eleven congressmen were elected out of fourteen. This was a gain of five. The delegation in congress was as follows: State at large, S. W. Moulton; First district, John Wentworth; Second, John F. Farnsworth; Third, E. B. Washburne; Fourth, Abner C. Harding; Fifth, Eben C. Ingersoll; Sixth, Burton C. Cook; Seventh, H. P. H. Bromwell; Eighth, Shelby M. Cullom; Ninth, Lewis W. Ross; Tenth, Anthony Thornton; Eleventh, Samuel S. Marshall; Twelfth, Jehu Baker; Thirteenth, A. J. Kuykendall. Ross, Thornton and Marshall were Democrats. Ingersoll succeeded Owen Lovejoy, who died in March, 1864.

CHAPTER XI

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR OGLESBY—THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT—REPEAL OF BLACK LAWS—ELECTIONS OF 1866—TRUMBULL RE-ELECTED SENATOR—GENERAL GRANT ELECTED PRESIDENT—ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR PALMER—CONSTITUTION OF 1870—GENERAL LOGAN ELECTED UNITED STATES SENATOR.

RICHARD J. OGLESBY was inaugurated January 17, 1865, as the third Republican governor of Illinois. A more interesting personality, with the possible exception of his immediate predecessor, Richard Yates, never graced the executive chair of the state. Governor Oglesby was born in Oldham county, Kentucky, July 25, 1824. He came to Illinois with an uncle in 1836; was admitted to the bar and began the practice of his profession at Sullivan, in Moultrie county. He began his political career in 1852 as a Whig elector, and in 1858 he was an unsuccessful candidate for congress in the Decatur district. In 1860 Oglesby was elected to the state senate. On the outbreak of the civil war he resigned his seat and tendered his services to the government on the day President Lincoln issued his first call for troops. He had been lieutenant of an Illinois company in the Mexican war. With this prestige he quickly arose from the colonelcy of the Eighth regiment to the rank of major-general. At the battle of Corinth he was shot through the left lung. He partially recovered, but resigned from the service in May, 1864.

Governor Oglesby was highly endowed with those qualities which made him a leader of men. He had a sublime faith in



RICHARD J. OGLESBY

the ability of the people to govern themselves, and the people, in turn, as fully believed in their gallant "Uncle Dick." Bluff, like Ben Wade, he was a vigorous campaigner and knew no fear. He was a great commoner of the old school, kindly, but firm, of strict integrity and lofty patriotism. Honor was in his blood and bone. His faults arose from his generous nature, but they weighed little in the balance against the devotion of his life to the highest ideals of civic duty. With a physique of large proportions, the gifts of wit and humor, intensity of feeling, and the true oratorical temperament, Richard J. Oglesby was one of the most commanding figures of his time.

William Bross, the lieutenant-governor, had won distinction as a journalist. He graduated from Williams college in 1836, and became one of the editors of the Democratic Press in Chicago, now the Tribune. After his retirement from public life he wrote several books. Among these are a brief History of Chicago, History of Camp Douglas, and Tom Quick. Mr. Bross died in Chicago, January 27, 1890.

The administration of Governor Oglesby was peaceful and prosperous. The north was emerging victoriously from civil war, and the soldiers were about to return to the avocations of peace. The notable legislation of the following years is an inviting field for the historian; but the scope of these chapters is restricted to the achievements of a single party. This fact also forbids detailed reference to the glorious military record of Illinois, which sent 226,592 soldiers to the front, to fight the battles of the union. The writer can deal only with facts of a general political nature.

The legislature convened January 2. General Allen C. Fuller was elected speaker of the house. Three days later the legislature met in joint session for the election of a United States senator, to succeed William A. Richardson. Richard

Yates, the caucus nominee, was elected on the first ballot.

On the first day of February the thirteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States received the official sanction of President Lincoln. Senator Trumbull, chairman of the judiciary committee, immediately notified Governor Oglesby by telegraph. The executive thereupon sent a message to the general assembly, with a stirring appeal for immediate action. He said: "Let Illinois be the first state in the union to ratify, by the act of her legislature this proposed amendment. . . . So far as we can, by any act of our state, destroy this pestilent cause of civil discord, disruption and dissolution—the source of so much unhappiness and misery to the people of the whole nation, let us do so, and do it now."

The senate and the house promptly responded and ratified the amendment on the very day it had been approved by the president. Thus Illinois, the home of the great emancipator, was the first state to ratify a constitutional provision for the freedom of the slave. Had the general assembly not at once responded to the request of the governor, "to do so and do it now," Illinois would not have won this distinction, for Rhode Island and Michigan ratified the amendment on the following day.

This session of the general assembly was signalized by the repeal of the odious "black laws." One of these laws had been on the statute books since 1819. Another, approved February 12, 1853, was designed "to prevent the immigration of free negroes into the state." A negro who entered Illinois was liable to conviction for misdemeanor, with a fine of fifty dollars. If this fine was not paid, he was advertised to be sold to the bidder who would pay the fine and costs, and the negro was held in servitude until he had earned the full amount advanced. Should the unfortunate black man remain in the

state ten days after his release, he was liable to second prosecution.

April 9, 1865. Robert E. Lee surrendered to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox. In scarcely more than a decade the Republican party, aided by loyal Democrats, had not only prevented the extension of slavery, but had purged the nation of the ancient sin and restored the integrity of the union. A part of the price was the life of the immortal emancipator; but ere he fell by the assassin's bullet, he had seen of the travail of his soul, and was satisfied.

The Republican state convention met at Springfield, August 8, 1866. General Green B. Raum presided, and James P. Root was chosen secretary. General John A. Logan was nominated congressman-at-large; Newton Bateman was renominated by acclamation for superintendent of public instruction; General George W. Smith, of Chicago, was nominated for treasurer on the second ballot.

The platform endorsed the congressional policy of reconstruction as opposed to President Johnson, and denied the right of the executive to encroach upon the constitutional power of the co-ordinate branch of the government.

The Democratic state convention assembled at Springfield August 29. General John A. McClernand presided. Colonel T. Lyle Dickey was nominated for congressman-at-large on the second ballot; General Jesse J. Phillips for treasurer, by acclamation, and Colonel John M. Crebs for superintendent of public instruction. Joint discussions were held by candidates for congress in nearly all the districts. Among the debaters were General Raum and W. J. Allen; H. P. H. Bromwell and General John C. Black; Shelby M. Cullom and Dr. Edwin Fowler; General Logan and Colonel Dickey.

The elections resulted in decisive victories for the Republicans all along the line. They elected eleven out of the fourteen congressmen, and secured both branches of the legislature. The senate had sixteen Republicans and nine Democrats; in the house there were sixty Republicans and twenty-five Democrats. General Logan's majority for congressman-at-large was 55,987. The delegation in congress from 1867 to 1869 was as follows: Congressman-at-large, John A. Logan; First district, Norman B. Judd; Second district, John F. Farnsworth; Third, E. B. Washburne; Fourth, Abner C. Harding; Fifth, Eben C. Ingersoll; Sixth, Burton C. Cook; Seventh, H. P. H. Bromwell; Eighth, Shelby M. Cullom; Ninth, Lewis W. Ross; Tenth, Albert G. Burr; Eleventh, Samuel S. Marshall; Twelfth, Jehu Baker; Thirteenth, Green B. Raum. Messrs. Ross, Burr and Marshall were Democrats.

The twenty-fifth general assembly convened January 7, 1867. Franklin Corwin, of La Salle, was elected speaker of the house; Charles E. Lippencott was chosen secretary of the senate.

The first political work of the session was the election of a United States senator to succeed Lyman Trumbull. He had already served two terms and a sentiment had developed that the honor should go to a soldier. The opposition was crystalized on John M. Palmer, who had the active support of Generals Oglesby and Logan. The test of strength came on a preliminary ballot, when Trumbull received forty-eight votes and Palmer twenty-eight. Palmer's name was withdrawn; Trumbull was renominated by acclamation and elected on January 16.

The fourteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States was ratified January 15 by a strict party vote

in both houses. The amendment conferred citizenship upon all persons born or naturalized in the United States without regard to color.

This session re-created the office of attorney-general, which had not existed since 1846. A law, approved February 27, provided that an attorney-general should be chosen at each succeeding gubernatorial election, and that the governor should appoint the first incumbent, who should serve until the election of his successor. February 28 Governor Oglesby appointed Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, who served two years.

The campaign of 1868 opened early. The Democratic state convention met in Springfield, April 15. Anthony L. Thornton presided. The political features of the platform were opposition to the reconstruction policy of congress; that the right of suffrage should be limited to the white race, although each state should determine the question for itself, and a resolution endorsing George H. Pendleton for president. John R. Eden was nominated for governor; William H. Van Epps, lieutenant-governor; Gustavus Van Hornebecke, secretary of state; John R. Shannon, auditor; Jesse L. Phillips, treasurer; and William O'Brien for congressman-at-large.

The Republican state convention assembled at Peoria, May 6. Franklin Corwin presided, and James P. Root was chosen secretary. Peoria was the home of Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, who had been favorably mentioned for governor in the event that General John M. Palmer would not accept the nomination. General Palmer, however, would have been nominated by acclamation had the fact been generally known he would not decline the honor. On the first ballot Palmer received 263 votes; Ingersoll, 117; S. W. Moulton, 82; Jesse K. Dubois, 17. The second ballot resulted as follows: Pal-

mer, 317; Ingersoll, 118; Moulton, 52; Dubois, 17. Palmer's nomination was then made unanimous.

John Dougherty was nominated for lieutenant-governor; Edward Rummel, secretary of state; Charles E. Lippincott, auditor; Erastus N. Bates, treasurer. There was a lively contest over the nomination for attorney-general between General Stephen A. Hurlbut and Washington Bushnell, which resulted in the choice of the latter. General John A. Logan was renominated for congressman-at-large by acclamation.

The platform endorsed the reconstruction policy of congress, denounced the repudiation of any portion of the public debt, and endorsed General Ulysses S. Grant for president.

Delegates to the Republican national convention were chosen as follows: At large, John A. Logan, B. J. Sweet, A. C. Babcock, J. K. Dubois, E. A. Storrs; district delegates, J. R. Jones, Herman Raster, M. L. Joslyn, William Hulin, James L. Camp, N. D. Swift, Calvin Truesdale, Ira D. Chamberlain, Mark Bangs, W. L. Wiley, Henry Fish, Calhoun Grant, J. W. Langley, James H. Steele, Giles A. Smith, I. S. Whitmore, Hugh L. Fullerton, C. N. Whitney, John Logan, A. C. Vanderwater, J. A. Powell, William H. Robinson, P. E. Hosmer, Philip Isenmeyer, B. G. Roots, Thomas S. Ridgway.

The presidential electors were: At large, Stephen A. Hurlbut, Gustavus Koerner; district electors, Thomas J. Henderson, Lorenz Brentano, Jesse S. Hildrup, James McCoy, Henry W. Draper, Thomas G. Frost, Joseph O. Glover, John W. Blackburn, Samuel C. Parks, Damon G. Tunnidiff, John D. Strong, Edward Kitchell, Charles F. Springer, Daniel W. Munn.

The national Republican convention met in Chicago May 21. General Ulysses S. Grant was practically the unanimous choice of the delegates. General Logan presented the name of General Grant in a brief and stirring speech. Upon the roll call of states every one of the 650 votes was given to the general. While the enthusiasm was at its height, a large portrait of General Grant was unveiled, and the delegates again went wild with cheering. Schuyler Colfax was nominated for vice-president on the fifth ballot. Benjamin F. Wade, Reuben E. Fenton and Henry Wilson were candidates.

General Grant's rise to fame is scarcely without parallel in any part of the world. In 1861 he was a discouraged man doing clerical work in a dingy, scantily furnished room in the adjutant-general's office at Springfield at two dollars per day. Within four years he was hailed as one of the conquerors of the world; and in another four years he was president of the United States. With the exception of a few months as secretary of war in President Johnson's cabinet, the presidency was the only office ever held by General Grant. He was born at Point Pleasant, Ohio, April 27, 1822; graduated from West Point in 1843; served in the Mexican war, after which he lived on a farm near St. Louis and then removed to Galena. After much humiliation and discouragement he received the appointment of colonel of the Twenty-first regiment of infantry from Governor Yates. From that day the stars in their courses fought for him, from Fort Gibson, Raymond, Champion Hill, Chattanooga, Vicksburg and "on to Richmond." He had Napoleon's genius without his ambition for conquest. In the hour of triumph he displayed the simplicity of a child. At Appomattox Lee appeared the conqueror and Grant the conquered. Grant's mistakes were in

men, not in measures. He trusted his friends, sometimes not wisely, but too much.

The national Democratic convention began its sessions in New York City July 4. Horatio Seymour, of New York, was nominated for president on the twenty-second ballot; F. P. Blair, of Missouri, was nominated for vice-president.

The supreme issue was the congressional policy of reconstruction. General Grant carried twenty-six states, with 214 electoral votes; Seymour carried eight states, with eighty electoral votes. Grant's majority in Illinois was 51,150; General Palmer's was 50,099. The Republicans elected their entire state ticket and retained control of both branches of the legislature by increased majorities. The delegation in congress included ten Republicans and four Democrats, as follows: State at large, John A. Logan; First district, Norman B. Judd; Second, J. F. Farnsworth; Third, E. B. Washburne; Fourth, John B. Hawley; Fifth, Eben C. Ingersoll; Sixth, Burton C. Cook; Seventh, Jesse H. Moore; Eighth Shelby M. Cullom; Ninth, T. W. McNeely; Tenth, Albert G. Burr; Eleventh, Samuel S. Marshall; Twelfth, John B. Hay; Thirteenth, John M. Crebs. Messrs. McNeely, Burr, Marshall and Crebs were Democrats.

John M. Palmer took the oath of office as governor of Illinois January 11, 1869. In his inaugural address he discussed the great question of more complete legislative control over the franchises of common carriers. This was the first time an Illinois executive had undertaken to grapple with this problem, which had already assumed such importance in some of the eastern states. Governor Palmer was born in Eagle Creek, Scott county, Kentucky, September 13, 1817. It is an interesting fact that three successive governors of Illinois, Richard Yates, Richard J. Oglesby and John M.

Palmer, with Abraham Lincoln who had wrought so gloriously for freedom, should have come from a border slave state. Governor Palmer had achieved distinction in civil and military life. He was elected colonel of the Fourteenth Illinois Volunteers, and arose to the rank of brigadier-general. Previous to that time he had been probate judge of Macoupin county, state senator, member of a constitutional convention, presidential elector and peace commissioner. General Palmer was a sturdy type of statesman. Without the eloquence or brilliance of Yates and Oglesby, he was the peer of either in sheer intellectual force. As a public speaker he marshaled his arguments with convincing power. He was pre-eminently a lawyer, and the unusual number of his vetoes revealed the utmost confidence in his own grasp of large principles. He was a noble old Roman, and the honors he received from his adopted state were worthily bestowed.

Colonel John Dougherty brought to the office of lieutenant-governor the experience of eight years in the house and four in the senate. Before the civil war he had been a Democrat.

The twenty-sixth general assembly, the last under the constitution of 1848, convened January 4, 1869. There were fifty-eight Republicans and twenty-seven Democrats in the house and eighteen Republicans and seven Democrats in the senate. Franklin Corwin was elected speaker of the house and James P. Root, clerk.

Governor Palmer's recommendation concerning railroads bore immediate fruit. General Fuller, chairman of the senate committee on railroads, introduced a bill regulating passenger rates. The bill passed both houses, but was vetoed by Governor Palmer, on the ground that it was too drastic. General Fuller promptly introduced a new measure, which was more in accordance with the governor's views and it became a law

March 10, 1869. Thus to General Fuller belongs the honor of the first statute in Illinois for the regulation of railroad rates by law. It was superseded, however, by legislation under the constitution of 1870. Other notable events of Governor Palmer's administration were the lake front and Chicago fire controversies.

The fifteenth amendment to the federal constitution was ratified by a strict party vote in each house on the 5th of March. It provided that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

General Grant was inaugurated president of the United States March 4, 1869. The president selected his old neighbor, E. B. Washburne, for secretary of state. Mr. Washburne had served the Galena district sixteen years in congress and was known as the "father of the house," and "the watchdog of the treasury." He administered the speaker's oath of office twice to Schuyler Colfax and once to James G. Blaine. Mr. Washburne was succeeded in the house by Horatio C. Burchard, of Freeport, who achieved a national reputation as an authority on coinage.

Mr. Washburne resigned from the cabinet March 17, and President Grant appointed him minister to France, where he remained eight years. He was the only representative of a foreign government who remained in Paris during the siege and the reign of the commune. Mr. Washburne published his "Recollections of a Minister to France" in two volumes in 1887.

President Grant honored other Illinois friends with diplomatic and consular posts. Among these were General Stephen A. Hurlbut, of Belvidere, as minister to the United

States of Colombia; Colonel Clark E. Carr, of Galesburg, minister to Denmark; General A. L. Chetlain, of Galena, United States consul at Brussels. The president appointed General John A. Rawlins, of Galena, secretary of war.

In 1867 the legislature adopted a resolution recommending that the electors, at the general election in 1868, vote on the question of calling a convention to frame a new constitution. The proposition carried by the narrow margin of 704 votes. The legislature in 1869 provided for an election to be held the following November, for the choice of delegates.

The convention assembled at Springfield, December 13. It consisted of eighty-five members, forty-four of whom were Republicans and forty-one Democrats. Hon. Charles Hitchcock was the presiding officer. The final adjournment took place May 13, 1870. The constitution was ratified by a vote of the people July 6 and went into effect August 8, 1870.

The distinctive political features of the new constitution were the removing of the restriction upon two consecutive terms for the governor, and placing it upon the treasurer; the offices of attorney-general and superintendent of public instruction, heretofore existing only by statute, were permanently established; the number of members of the legislature was permanently fixed at fifty-one senators and one hundred and fifty-three representatives, with a new apportionment every ten years; minority representation was established through the influence of Joseph Medill; the number of supreme court justices was increased from four to seven and all special legislation was prohibited.

The Republican state convention was held at Springfield September 1. General Logan was renominated for congressman-at-large; General Bates for state treasurer; Newton Bateman for superintendent of public instruction.

The Democratic convention was held at Springfield, September 14. General William B. Anderson was nominated for congressman-at-large; Charles Ridgley for treasurer; Charles Feinz for superintendent of public instruction.

The elections were carried by the Republicans, who elected their state ticket, both branches of the legislature, and nine of the fourteen congressmen. The Illinois members of the forty-second congress were: State at large, John A. Logan; First district, Charles B. Farwell; Second, J. F. Farnsworth; Third, H. C. Burchard; Fourth, John B. Hawley; Fifth, Brad. N. Stevens; Sixth, Burton C. Cook; Seventh, Jesse H. Moore; Eighth, James C. Robinson; Ninth, T. W. McNeely; Tenth, Edward Y. Rice; Eleventh, Samuel S. Marshall; Twelfth, John B. Hay; Thirteenth, John M. Crebs. Messrs. Robinson, McNeely, Rice, Marshall and Crebs were Democrats.

The general assembly convened January 4, 1871. It had a larger number of members than any preceding or succeeding assembly. Since the apportionment of 1861 there had been twenty-five senators and eighty-five representatives. The new constitution provided that the legislatures elected in 1872 and thereafter should consist of fifty-one senators and one hundred and fifty-three representatives. Section 15 of the schedule of the new constitution also provided, as a provisional measure, that the first general assembly elected after its adoption should have fifty senators; and Section 13 provided that the governor and secretary of state should apportion the state for the election of representatives. Under this apportionment 177 members of the house were elected at the general election in 1870.

Railroad legislation occupied a considerable portion of the time. This fact recalls an incident which is without a parallel

in the history of the state, and has escaped the attention of all historians. General Fuller, of Belvidere, was chairman of the senate committee on railroads; his next door neighbor, Hon. Jesse S. Hildrup, was chairman of the house committee on railroads. These gentlemen, invested with the power of shaping the railroad legislation of Illinois, were from the same little town of three thousand people, with only a single railroad.

January 17 the legislature convened in joint session for the election of a United States senator to succeed Richard Yates. The Republican caucus showed 98 for Logan; 23 for Oglesby and 8 for Koerner. The Democrats supported Colonel Thomas J. Turner. The vote in the senate stood: Logan, 32; Turner, 18. House, Logan, 99; Turner, 71; William R. Snyder, 2.

Upon the expiration of his senatorial term Mr. Yates retired to private life. He died suddenly November 27, 1873, in St. Louis, while returning from Arkansas, where he had gone as a United States commissioner, to inspect a land subsidy railroad, under appointment of President Grant.

The advancement of General Logan to the senate required an election of his successor as congressman-at-large. A state convention was held at Springfield September 20. General John L. Beveridge was nominated, and received a majority of 19,000 over his Democratic opponent, Samuel Snowden Hayes.

CHAPTER XII

RECONSTRUCTION COMPLETED—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1872—
RISE AND FALL OF LIBERAL REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT—
NAST'S CARTOONS—RE-ELECTION OF GENERAL GRANT.

IN a representative government the supremacy of any party will not continue unchallenged. Since the Republicans first came into full power in Illinois in 1860, they had retained control of all branches of the state government, with the exception of 1862. In 1872 opposition developed within the ranks of the party itself. There were "insurgents" in those days, but they adopted another name.

The reconstruction of the southern states had been practically completed during the administration of President Johnson. Virginia, Mississippi, Georgia, and Texas were the only states that had not complied with the conditions already established, and these soon returned to the union. Thus congress completed its work of reconstruction in 1870.

The reconstruction policy of the government may be briefly summarized. One of the great problems after the civil war was to define the status of the states which had seceded and to reconstruct their governments. President Lincoln had proceeded upon the theory it was only necessary that a sufficient number of citizens should form a state government, of which the officials were loyally desirous of maintaining constitutional relations with the federal government. The separation of West Virginia from Virginia had been accomplished by a Virginia legislature so constituted. President Johnson proceeded upon the same theory. Other

theories were advanced in congress, and some even went so far as to hold that the seceding states had ceased to exist as states, and constituted territories, respecting which congress was at liberty to make such terms as it chose.

The view generally held by congress was that the southern states could be admitted only on such terms as congress should impose. The maintenance of this view was largely due to the belief that the substantial results of the war, concerning the enfranchisement and the civil rights of the negro, could not be secured in any other way, because of the reluctance of some southern legislatures to accept these results.

Before congress convened in December, 1865, President Johnson had recognized provisional governments in all the southern states, with a single exception, on their acceptance of the thirteenth amendment. Congress, however, proposed the fourteenth amendment, and insisted on its acceptance as a requisite to the re-admission of any state. In 1867 congress passed the reconstruction act, which divided the south into five military districts, under command of generals of the army, who were to secure a registration of voters, including negroes, and excluding those disqualified by the fourteenth amendment. These voters were to elect delegates to a convention, which should form a constitution, to be ratified by popular vote. It should then be submitted to congress, and if it was acceptable to that body, the state should be re-instated whenever its legislature had ratified the fourteenth amendment. The result was the "carpet-bag" governments.

Under this act Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana and the Carolinas were re-admitted. Tennessee had already been re-admitted by congress in 1866. Georgia, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia were also required to ratify the fifteenth amendment, and were not re-admitted until 1870. In 1868 the

supreme court, in the case of Texas versus White, sustained the congressional, as against the presidential, theory of reconstruction. It was many years, however, before the southern question was settled.

The administration of President Grant had given great dissatisfaction to an influential minority in his own party. The discontent first manifested itself in Missouri in 1870, when a movement was inaugurated for the repeal of a constitutional provision disfranchising rebels. Carl Schurz was its most distinguished leader. Schurz was at that time an exile from the Fatherland, which regarded him as a traitor; and those who have read his thrilling experiences, as related in his autobiography, will understand why the cause of the disfranchised made an irresistible appeal to him.

The revolt in Missouri was local in its original scope, but the impelling motive struck a responsive chord in other states. The Republican party was savagely attacked for its alleged despotic treatment of the states lately in rebellion; and it was charged that congressional reconstruction had been a bungling piece of business.

Other grounds of opposition were President Grant's policy looking to an early resumption of specie payments; his desire for the annexation of Santo Domingo, and his alleged favoritism and nepotism, by which the civil service had been degraded.

These discordant elements in Missouri crystallized in a state mass meeting held in Jefferson City, in January, 1872, when a call was issued for a national convention of liberal Republicans, to be held May 1, in Cincinnati.

Carl Schurz was permanent presiding officer of the Cincinnati convention. Horace Greeley was nominated for president on the sixth ballot. Lyman Trumbull and David Davis, of Illinois, received votes on every ballot. B. Bratz Brown, of

Missouri, was nominated for vice-president on the second ballot.

The national Democratic convention met at Baltimore, July 9, ratified the nomination of Greeley and Brown and adopted the same platform of principles.

Many distinguished Republicans in Illinois became identified with this liberal movement. Among these were Lyman Trumbull, John M. Palmer, Newton Bateman, Francis A. Hoffman, William Bross, Gustavus Koerner, David Davis, Leonard Swett, Jesse K. Dubois, O. M. Hatch, Horace White and John Wentworth.

The Democrats and liberal Republicans "pooled their issues" in Illinois. Separate state conventions were held at Springfield June 26. General Palmer presided over the "liberal" body, and James C. Allen over the Democrats. The state ticket was composed of representative candidates from each party, who were nominated by a conference committee appointed by the two conventions, and confirmed by each. This fusion ticket was as follows: For governor, Gustavus Koerner; lieutenant-governor, John C. Black; secretary of state, Edward Rummel; auditor, Daniel O'Hara; treasurer, C. H. Lamphier; attorney-general, Lawrence Weldon. Each convention was addressed by Governor Palmer and Senator Trumbull, both of whom had been signally honored by the Republican party, and by General Shields.

The Republican state convention opened its sessions at Springfield May 22. Judge Stephen T. Logan presided, and the proceedings were characterized by harmony and enthusiasm. It had been supposed that Governor Palmer would seek a renomination, but about the middle of April he announced that he would not be a candidate before the convention on the ground that he could not support President Grant for a

second term. This declaration simplified matters for the convention, which nominated General Oglesby for governor without a dissenting vote. General John L. Beveridge was nominated for lieutenant-governor; George H. Harlow, secretary of state; Charles E. Lippincott, auditor; Edward Rutz, treasurer; James K. Edsall, attorney-general.

The platform defined the relations between state sovereignty and national supremacy and stated that the principles underlying this issue had been previously enunciated, and that time had justified the attitude of the party on this question. The platform advocated a protective tariff, endorsed the administration of President Grant and instructed the Illinois delegates to vote for his renomination.

The following delegates were chosen to the national convention: State at large, Stephen T. Logan, Emory A. Storrs, Leonard F. Ross, Jasper Partridge; district delegates: J. Young Scammon, Lewis Ellsworth, Herman Raster, James L. Campbell, Clark W. Upton, William Vocke, J. H. Mayburn, A. B. Coon, John C. Smith, Edward B. Warner, Andrew Crawford, J. W. Templeton, Lyman B. Ray, W. M. Sweetland, W. R. Hickox, N. E. Stevens, Enoch Emery, Edwin Butler, John McKeeney, Sr., Henry Tubbs, George W. Burns, David Pierson, Shelby M. Cullom, John Moses, William McGailliard, Thomas Snell, Joseph R. Mosser, James Knight, T. A. Apperson, James Steele, H. C. Goodnow, J. F. Alexander, Russell Hinckley, A. W. Metcalf, George Waters, T. H. Burgess, D. W. Lusk and Israel A. Powell.

The presidential electors were: Henry Greenbaum, David T. Linegar, Chauncey T. Bowen, Lester L. Bond, Mahlon D. Ogden, Richard L. Devine, James Shaw, Norman H. Ryan, Irus Coy, Joseph J. Cassell, William Selden Gale, William D. Henderson, Moses M. Bane, George A. Sanders,

Hugh Fullerton, Martin B. Thompson, Jacob W. Wilkin, John P. Van Dorston, John I. Rinaker, John Dougherty, William H. Robinson.

The national Republican convention assembled at Philadelphia, June 8. President Grant was renominated without opposition. Senator Cullom was chairman of the Illinois delegation, and nominated Grant in the shortest speech of the kind ever made in a national Republican convention. Senator Cullom said: "Gentlemen of the convention: On behalf of the great Republican party of Illinois, and that of the union—in the name of liberty, of loyalty, of justice, and of law—in the interest of economy, of good government, of peace, and of the equal rights of all—remembering with profound gratitude his glorious achievements in the field, and his noble statesmanship as chief magistrate of this great nation—I nominate as president of the United States, for a second term, Ulysses S. Grant."

Henry Wilson, United States senator from Massachusetts, was nominated for vice-president, after a spirited contest with the incumbent, Schuyler Colfax.

One of the stirring incidents of the convention was the speech of Governor Oglesby, who made a wonderful impression. Senator Cullom, in his "Recollections," describes the scene as follows: "I do not recall that I ever saw a man electrify an audience as did Governor Oglesby on that occasion. It was the first convention where there were colored men admitted as delegates. Some of the delegates occupied the main floor. Old Garret Smith, the great abolitionist, was in the gallery, at the head of the New York delegation. Oglesby took for his theme first the colored man represented there on the floor of that convention, and then Garret Smith. He set the crowd wild. They cheered him to the echo. We

adjourned for luncheon immediately after he concluded his speech, and many of the delegates asked me who that man was. I was proud to be able to tell them that it was Governor Oglesby, of Illinois; and the remark was frequently made that it was no wonder that Illinois gave sixty thousand Republican majority with such a man as its governor."

There were Democrats in the country who believed the fusion with liberal Republicans was a cowardly surrender of principle for the sake of a possible victory. Their representatives assembled in national convention at Louisville, Kentucky, September 8, and nominated Charles O'Connor, of New York, for president, and John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, for vice-president. Labor reformers and prohibitionists also held conventions and nominated candidates. David Davis, of Illinois, who had been nominated by the labor reformers, declined the honor four months after it was tendered, and the name of Charles O'Connor was substituted.

With the practical elimination of the labor reformers there were four tickets in the field. The leaders who revolted against President Grant were very influential, not only in Illinois, but throughout the entire country. The Chicago Tribune was that year under the editorial management of Horace White, who gave its influence to Mr. Greeley. Early in the campaign there was much apprehension among Republicans concerning the outcome.

A memorable feature of the campaign was Thomas Nast's cartoons in Harper's Weekly of Mr. Greeley with his white silk hat and overcoat of the same color, from the pockets of which always protruded copies of the New York Tribune, with articles on "What I Know About Farming."

One of Nast's most striking cartoons was Charles Sumner weeping over the neglected grave of Preston S. Brooks, of

South Carolina. Brooks was the southerner who in 1856 assaulted Sumner in the senate chamber. Mr. Sumner "Greeleyized" during this campaign, and the picture presented the distinguished Massachusetts senator as one in spirit with the brute who had struck him down. Irony was never more powerfully portrayed in a cartoon.

As the campaign progressed the Republicans became more confident and their early alarm proved to be without foundation. Many of the leaders in the revolt were unable to swing their personal followings into line, and, as a result, no serious inroads were made into the rank and file of the party. The Greeley movement was a complete failure.

General Grant received 286 electoral votes; combined Liberal and Democratic parties, 63; while 17 were not counted.

The Republicans captured everything in sight in Illinois. The Grant electors received 241,237 votes; Greeley electors 184,772; Grant's plurality, 56,465. Oglesby's plurality for governor over Koerner was 40,690, and the pluralities for the remainder of the state ticket was above 48,000. Both branches of the legislature were Republican, and they elected fourteen congressmen.

Under the congressional apportionment of July 1, 1872, the state was divided into nineteen congressional districts. The delegation of Illinois in the Forty-third congress was as follows: First district, John B. Rice; Second, Jasper D. Ward; Third, Charles B. Farwell; Fourth, Stephen A. Hurlbut; Fifth, H. C. Burchard; Sixth, John B. Hawley; Seventh, Franklin Corwin; Eighth Greenbury L. Fort; Ninth, Granville Barriere; Tenth, William H. Ray; Eleventh, Robert M. Knapp; Twelfth, James C. Robinson; Thirteenth, John McNulta; Fourteenth, Joseph G. Cannon; Fifteenth, John R.

Eden ; Sixteenth, James S. Martin ; Seventeenth, William R. Morrison ; Eighteenth, Isaac Clements ; Nineteenth, Samuel S. Marshall.

Messrs. Knapp, Robinson, Eden, Morrison and Marshall were Democrats. It will be observed that this was the year Joseph G. Cannon entered upon his unique congressional career, which in some respects has no parallel in the history of the country.

With the collapse of the Liberal Republican party, its leaders sought other affiliations. Some returned to the old party fold, while a still larger number became permanently identified with the Democratic party. Treason to party is not readily forgiven ; and no wandering prodigals had fatted calves killed in honor of their return. General Palmer and Judge Davis were subsequently elected United States senators by Democratic votes. They were men above suspicion of changing their party for personal advantage, and their sincerity was never questioned. Lyman Trumbull may have been equally sincere, but he was not so successful in convincing the people of the fact.

CHAPTER XIII

INAUGURATION OF GENERAL OGLESBY AND HIS ELECTION TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE—GOVERNOR JOHN L. BEVERIDGE—REVERSES OF 1874—HAYES-TILDEN CONTEST OF 1876—GENERAL HURLBUT GETS COLONEL INGERSOLL TO NOMINATE BLAINE FOR PRESIDENT—HURLBUT WARNS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS—THE ELECTIONS—DAVID DAVIS ELECTED SENATOR—CAMPAIGN OF 1878—LOGAN RETURNS TO THE SENATE.

GENERAL Oglesby was inaugurated governor of Illinois a second time January 13, 1873. The inauguration, however, was a mere formality, as General Oglesby had already been unanimously declared the nominee of the Republican caucus for United States senator. Lyman Trumbull was the Democratic nominee. The election was held January 21, with the following result: Senate, Oglesby, 33; Trumbull, 16; Coolbaugh, 2; in the house, Oglesby, 84; Trumbull, 62.

Opponents of General Oglesby challenged the validity of his election. They contended he was ineligible to the office under Section 5, of Article 5 of the state constitution, which says: "Neither the governor, lieutenant-governor, auditor of public accounts, secretary of state, superintendent of public instruction, nor attorney-general shall be eligible to any other office during the period for which he shall have been elected." The protest had no effect, as each house of congress is sole judge of the election and qualification of its own members.

The defeat of Lyman Trumbull resulted in his retirement to private life, after eighteen years of conspicuous service in the United States senate. His estrangement from his party began with his opposition to the impeachment of Andrew Johnson and culminated in the Greeley campaign of 1872.

January 23, two days after his inauguration, Governor Oglesby tendered his resignation, and the lieutenant-governor succeeded to the office.

John L. Beveridge was born in Greenwich, Washington county, New York, July 6, 1824, of Scotch Presbyterian ancestry. He came with his father's family to Illinois in 1842 and settled in DeKalb county. He went to Tennessee, where he read law and practiced his profession for several years. In 1851 he returned to Illinois, resided in Sycamore until 1854, when he removed to Evanston and opened a law office in Chicago. He recruited a company for the Eighth Illinois cavalry, of which his law partner, John F. Farnsworth, was colonel. Mr. Beveridge subsequently organized the Seventeenth Illinois cavalry and served with distinction. He was mustered out of the service February 6, 1866, with the rank of brevet brigadier-general.

Mr. Beveridge's honors in civil life came in quick succession. He was elected state senator in 1870. He resigned his seat to accept the nomination for congressman-at-large, to succeed John A. Logan, who had been elected United States senator. Mr. Beveridge resigned this position to become a candidate for lieutenant-governor in 1872. Thus within three weeks he held the offices of congressman, lieutenant-governor and governor. Governor Beveridge administered the affairs of his high office with dignity and honor.

The legislature convened January 8, 1873. There were fifty-one senators and 153 representatives. This is the number

which had been definitely fixed by the new constitution. The Republicans had a majority of seventeen in the senate, and nineteen in the house.

Upon the organization of the senate, John Early, of Winnebago, was chosen president pro tempore, and thus acting lieutenant-governor of the state. In 1870 Mr. Early was elected state senator from the Twenty-third district, composed of Winnebago, Boone, McHenry and Lake counties. After the state had been redistricted he was elected senator in 1872 from the Ninth district, which included Winnebago and Boone counties; and in 1874 he was again elected for the full term of four years.

Shelby M. Cullom was elected speaker of the house a second time, over Newton R. Casey. Daniel Shepard was chosen clerk.

This legislature was in session two hundred and four days, and finally adjourned March 31, 1874. It enacted much important legislation, although there was nothing of a distinctively political nature.

The revolt within the Republican party in 1872 continued with more serious results in 1874. Upon the ruins of the Liberal Republican organization there was formed an anti-monopoly party. The issues incident to the civil war and reconstruction had been settled, so far as Illinois was concerned. Other questions of a different nature had arisen. Among these were the currency and the legislative control of railroads.

The order of Patrons of Husbandry had been organized a few years before, and, contrary to the alleged purpose of its origin, it soon developed into a political power. The railroads were determined to disregard the legislation of 1871. Moreover, the state supreme court had in 1873 declared in-

operative a portion of the law against discrimination in freight rates. The sequel to this decision was the defeat of Judge Lawrence, who prepared the opinion, as a candidate for re-election as a justice of the supreme court.

These facts gave significance to the new organization which adopted the name of the "Illinois State Independent Reform" party. It held the first state convention of the year at Springfield, June 10, 1874, and was composed of representatives from all existing political organizations. J. M. Allen, of Henry county, presided.

Some of the features of the platform were a demand for the repeal of the national banking law and the issue of legal tender currency direct from the treasury, interchangeable for government bonds bearing a low rate of interest; a declaration in favor of railroad legislation; condemnation of the practice of public officials receiving railroad passes; opposition to the principle of protective tariff.

David Gore was nominated for state treasurer, and Samuel M. Etter for superintendent of public instruction.

The Republican state convention assembled at Springfield, June 17. Shelby M. Cullom presided. Thomas S. Ridgway was nominated for state treasurer, and William H. Powell, of Kane county, for superintendent of public instruction.

The platform reaffirmed the declaration of the national convention in 1872, in favor of an early return to specie payments; opposed the retiring of \$382,000,000 United States treasury notes; favored free banking and the election of president and vice-president by a direct vote of the people.

A third convention, calling itself "Democratic Liberal," was held at Springfield, August 26. Charles Carroll was nominated for state treasurer. S. M. Etter, the nominee of

the reformers, was endorsed for superintendent of public instruction.

The platform declared for the restoration of gold and silver as the basis of currency; for the resumption of specie payments as soon as possible; no tariff except for revenue purposes; individual liberty and opposition to sumptuary laws were favored.

The elections resulted in the first defeat of the Republicans since the reverses in 1862. Thomas S. Ridgway, the Republican candidate for treasurer, was elected; but S. M. Etter, the fusion candidate for superintendent, was chosen over William B. Powell, Republican.

The Republicans elected only seven members of congress, and the contests were close in several districts. Carter Harrison was elected in the Second Chicago district by only eight votes. General Stephen A. Hurlbut had a majority of only 1,149 over John F. Farnsworth in the Fourth district, one of the bulwarks of Republicanism. Illinois was represented in the Forty-fourth congress by the following: First district, B. G. Caulfield, Second, Carter H. Harrison; Third, Charles B. Farwell; Fourth, Stephen A. Hurlbut; Fifth, H. C. Burchard; Sixth, Thomas J. Henderson; Seventh, Alexander Campbell; Eighth, Greenbury L. Fort; Ninth, Richard H. Whiting; Tenth, John C. Bagby; Eleventh, Scot Wike; Twelfth, William M. Springer; Thirteenth, A. E. Stevenson; Fourteenth, Joseph G. Cannon; Fifteenth, John R. Eden, Sixteenth, William A. J. Sparks; Seventeenth, William R. Morrison; Eighteenth, William Hartzell; Nineteenth, William B. Anderson. Messrs. Campbell and Anderson were Reformers or Greenbackers; Messrs. Farwell, Hurlbut, Burchard, Henderson, Fort, Whiting and Cannon were Repub-

licans. Farwell's seat was contested, declared vacant and John V. LeMoynes, Democrat, was elected his successor.

The political complexion of the legislature was decidedly mixed. In the senate were 24 Republicans, 19 Democrats, and 9 Independents, Liberals and Reformers. The Independents, therefore, held the balance of power in both houses.

The general assembly convened in January. It was a stormy session from beginning to end. The trouble began with the contest over the speakership. Mr. Cullom was the nominee of the Republican caucus. The Independents supported E. M. Haines, of Waukegan, and the fact soon developed that the honor would not go to a Democrat. The break came after the first ballot, when enough Democrats voted for Haines to secure his election. Haines had been a Democrat, then a Republican, and was now an Independent Reformer. He was a thorough parliamentarian, but his rulings were arbitrary, and his career as speaker ended in scenes of disorder.

Archibald A. Glenn, a Democrat, was elected president of the senate, over John Early, the Republican caucus nominee, and thus became acting lieutenant-governor of the state.

The general assembly adjourned April 18, 1875, and the session laws were contained in the smallest volume that had been published in forty years.

The presidential campaign of 1876 was one of the most memorable in the history of the republic. The financial panic of 1873, the operations of the "whisky ring" and the impeachment of Secretary Belknap had been unfortunate incidents in President Grant's second term. The flames of party passion were enkindled early in the year through other causes. The political revulsion in 1874 gave the Democrats the control of the house when the Forty-fourth congress assembled in

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December, 1875. James G. Blaine, who had served three terms as speaker, became the leader of the minority.

During the winter a general amnesty bill was introduced to remove the political disabilities of participants in the civil war which had been imposed by the fourteenth amendment. Mr. Blaine moved to amend by making an exception of Jefferson Davis, and supported his amendment with an impassioned speech. Benjamin H. Hill, of Georgia, replied to Mr. Blaine, and a period of stormy contention followed. The episode attracted national attention and Mr. Blaine added to his laurels as a parliamentary leader. Many Republicans, however, deplored the fact that he had revived memories of the civil war that they were willing to forget.

The Republican state convention met at Springfield, May 24, 1876. Henry S. Baker, of Madison county, presided. Shelby M. Cullom was nominated for governor on the first ballot, over John L. Beveridge, and Thomas S. Ridgway. Andrew Shuman was nominated for lieutenant-governor; George H. Harlow, secretary of state; Thomas B. Needles, auditor; Edward Rutz, treasurer; James K. Edsall, attorney-general.

The platform condemned leniency toward the people of the south who had lately been in rebellion; favored a lower rate of interest for United States bonds; the payment of the public debt in good faith, and endorsed the existing system of paper currency.

Delegates were appointed to the national convention as follows: For the state at large, Robert G. Ingersoll, Joseph W. Robbins, Green B. Raum, George D. Banks; from districts in the numerical order, two from each: Sidney Smith, George M. Bogue; John McArthur, S. K. Dow; Frank W. Palmer, Charles B. Farwell; William Coffin, E. E. Ayers;

L. Burchell, Alexander Walker; A. R. Mack, J. W. Hopkins; J. Everts, G. N. Chittenden; J. F. Culver, A. Burk; Thomas A. Boyd, Enoch Emery; D. Mack, D. McDill; J. M. Davis, George W. Ware; William Prescott, N. W. Branson; C. R. Cummings, R. B. Latham; D. D. Evans, L. J. Bond; Benson Wood, Thomas L. Golden; James S. Martin, George C. McCord; John I. Rinaker, H. L. Baker; William M. Adams, Isaac C. Clements; F. D. Ham, William H. Robinson.

The presidential electors were: John I. Rinaker, Peter Schuttler, George Armour, Bolivar G. Gill, Louis Schaffner, Allen C. Fuller, Joseph M. Bailey, John B. Hawley, Franklin Corwin, Jason W. Strevell, Oscar F. Price, Alexander McLean, David E. Beaty, Philip N. Miniere, Michael Donahue, Hugh Crea, George D. Chafee, James M. Truitt, Cyrus Happy, George C. Ross, Joseph J. Castles.

The Greenback or Reform party held its state convention at Decatur and nominated Lewis Steward for governor; M. M. Hooton, secretary of state; John Hise, auditor; Henry T. Aspern, treasurer; Winfield S. Coy, attorney-general.

The Democrats held two state conventions at Springfield. The first was for the purpose of nominating delegates to the national convention at St. Louis. The second, held July 27, endorsed Lewis Steward, the reform nominee, for governor, and nominated A. A. Glenn for lieutenant-governor; S. Y. Thornton, secretary of state; John Hise, Fusion, auditor; George Gundlack, treasurer; Edmund Lynch, attorney-general.

From the day Mr. Blaine met Ben Hill in debate on the floor of the house, he was hailed as a Moses to lead his party to victory in the impending presidential campaign.

Mr. Blaine became an avowed candidate for president and was anxious to be nominated in the convention by an Illinois

man. He made known his wishes to General Hurlbut, who was then representing the Fourth district in the house. General Hurlbut had been profoundly impressed by Mr. Blaine's terrific arraignment of the southern "brigadiers," and became an enthusiastic supporter of the "man from Maine." It was understood among Hurlbut's friends that he would have been appointed secretary of war had Blaine succeeded to the presidency.

General Hurlbut told Mr. Blaine he knew a man in Illinois who would properly place him in nomination if he would "quit his nonsense long enough." Hurlbut referred to Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, who was then attracting local attention by his attacks upon religion. It was arranged that General Hurlbut should visit Peoria and secure Colonel Ingersoll to make the nominating speech.

The sequel is familiar history. The national Republican convention assembled at Cincinnati, June 14. Colonel Ingersoll, in a speech of rare eloquence and noble diction, nominated James G. Blaine for the presidency. In graphic word-painting Ingersoll was without a peer. He described Blaine's encounter with the southern fire-eaters in these words of flame: "Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American congress, and threw his shining lance full and fair, against the brazen foreheads of the defamers of his country, and the maligners of his honor." Although Blaine never became president, he was ever afterward the "plumed knight," and Colonel Ingersoll leaped to fame at a single bound.

Other candidates before the convention were Benjamin H. Bristow, Roscoe Conkling, John A. Hartranft, Rutherford B. Hayes, Marshall Jewell and Oliver P. Morton. General Hayes was nominated on the seventh ballot. William A.

Wheeler, of New York, was nominated for vice-president.

The national Democratic convention was held at St. Louis, June 27. General John A. McClernand, of Illinois, presided. Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, was nominated for president on the second ballot, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, for vice-president.

The National Greenback party, in convention at Indianapolis, May 17, nominated Peter Cooper, of New York, for president, and Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio, for vice-president.

The story of the campaign that followed, the uncertainty of the outcome for months after the election, and the extra-constitutional expedient of an electoral commission to determine the result belong to the domain of national history. The serious complications that may arise when the electoral vote is almost evenly divided are indicated in a letter written by General Hurlbut to his neighbor, General Fuller, of Belvidere, who was a presidential elector. In the letter, now in possession of the writer, General Hurlbut said: "I learn from sure sources that both Belmont and Barlow, of New York, have within forty-eight hours declared their absolute certainty of electing Tilden, even if Hayes should receive South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana. This may easily be done. If any one of our electors should vote a blank vote, it will make a tie and throw it into the house. I think some man has been secured to do this. It can be done safely if the voting is done by secret ballot, and will not appear or be known until the mischief is done. We therefore advise all our friends in the state electoral colleges to adopt the open ballot, for I do not believe any man can be found to do this act of treachery openly. No man supposes that any one of our people in Illinois will do it, but we want the rule universal. We are on the edge of revolution

already. Things are miserably bad, but do not leave a single loop-hole unguarded."

The Republican electors in Illinois received 277,227 votes; Democratic, 258,445; Peter Cooper, 17,232. General Hayes had only the small plurality of 1,560.

Shelby M. Cullom had a plurality of only 6,798 for governor over Steward. The entire state ticket was elected by reduced majorities.

The Republicans elected eleven of the nineteen congressmen. The election resulted as follows: First district, William Aldrich; Second, Carter H. Harrison; Third, Lorenz Brentano; Fourth, William Lathrop; Fifth, H. C. Burchard; Sixth, T. J. Henderson; Seventh, Philip C. Hayes; Eighth, Greenbury L. Fort; Ninth, Thomas A. Boyd; Tenth, Benjamin F. Marsh; Eleventh, Robert M. Knapp; Twelfth, William M. Springer; Thirteenth, Thomas F. Tipton; Fourteenth, Joseph G. Cannon; Fifteenth, John R. Eden; Sixteenth, William A. J. Sparks; Seventeenth, William R. Morrison; Eighteenth, William Hartzell; Nineteenth, R. W. Townshend. Messrs. Harrison, Knapp, Springer, Eden, Sparks, Morrison, Hartzell and Townshend were Democrats.

The Republicans lost control of the senate, but had a majority in the house. In the senate there were 21 Republicans, 22 Democrats and 8 Independents. The house contained 79 Republicans, 67 Democrats, 7 Independents.

Shelby M. Cullom was inaugurated governor January 8. He was the fourth consecutively elected governor of Illinois who was a native of Kentucky. He was born in Monticello, Wayne county, November 22, 1829. Mr. Cullom was elected a member of the house of representatives in the Illinois legislature in 1856, 1860, 1872 and 1874, and was chosen speaker

in 1861 and 1873. From 1865 to 1871 he represented the Eighth district in congress.

Andrew Shuman was born in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in November, 1830. His life was devoted to journalism, and his nomination as lieutenant-governor was a recognition of his efficient services for the Republican party as one of the editors of the Chicago Evening Journal.

The legislature convened January 3, 1877, in the new state house, which was nearly completed. James Shaw, of Mt. Carroll, was elected speaker of the house. The notable political event of the session was the election of a United States senator to succeed General Logan. The motley political complexion of both houses made this a difficult task. General Logan was the nominee of the Republican caucus, while the Democrats supported General Palmer. The first ballot was taken January 16. Successive ballots showed that neither Logan nor Palmer could be elected. The eight Independents in the senate and seven in the house held the balance of power on joint ballot. Those in the house were under the leadership of Andrew Ashton, of Winnebago county, who had been elected in 1874 and re-elected in 1876. Mr. Ashton, in telling this story a short time before his death to the writer, said Abraham Lincoln was the only man in public life he ever idolized, and Lincoln, in turn, highly esteemed Judge Davis. Mr. Ashton therefore determined he would support Judge Davis for senator. Mr. Ashton and his friends had up to this time received no intimation that Judge Davis desired to be senator.

During the contest Jesse Fell, of Normal, a confidential friend of Judge Davis, went to Springfield, made the acquaintance of Mr. Ashton and told him that Judge Davis would

accept the senatorship, as his duties on the supreme bench were onerous, and he longed to be relieved of them.

Mr. Ashton and his friends became more determined. Meanwhile the deadlock continued. January 22 General Palmer's name was withdrawn, and two days later General Logan withdrew. Judge Davis was elected January 25 on the fortieth ballot.

Judge Davis was born in Cecil county, Maryland, March 6, 1815. He settled in Bloomington in 1836, served in the house in the fourteenth general assembly in 1844, and was a member of the constitutional convention of 1847. The next year he was elected judge of the eighth judicial circuit and was re-elected in 1855 and 1861. In 1862 he was appointed justice of the supreme court of the United States by President Lincoln. Judge Davis pursued an independent course after his election to the senate, and frequently acted with the Republicans.

It has been said that the course of Mr. Ashton in this matter also resulted in the seating of Mr. Hayes as president. This tradition is based on the supposition that Judge Davis, as a member of the supreme court, would have been chosen the fifteenth member of the electoral commission, and would have voted to seat Mr. Tilden. The facts, however, are quite the reverse. Judge Davis told Mr. Ashton that Mr. Tilden did not want him placed on the commission. In view of this fact, Judge Davis could, under no circumstances, accept the appointment, even if it were tendered him. Thus, while Mr. Ashton did not contribute, even indirectly, to the seating of Mr. Hayes, it was his determined course that made David Davis, upon the death of William A. Wheeler, acting vice-president of the United States.

The state campaign of 1878 was characterized by unusual interest for an off year. The Republican convention met at Springfield, June 26, and was the largest ever held in the state up to that time. Charles E. Lippincott was the permanent presiding officer, and Daniel Shepard was chosen secretary. General John C. Smith was nominated for state treasurer on the third ballot. James P. Slade, of St. Clair county, was named for superintendent of public instruction on the second ballot.

The platform contained the following reference to the currency: "We are also opposed to any further contraction of the greenback currency, and are in favor of such currency as can be maintained at par with, and convertible into coin at the will of the holder. We are in favor of such currency being received for impost duties." Speeches were made by Generals Oglesby, Logan and Hurlbut and Emery A. Storrs.

The Independent Reformers and Democrats were in favor of a demand for the repeal of the resumption law, but they could not agree upon other issues. The Independents held their state convention at Springfield, March 27. General Erastus N. Bates was nominated for state treasurer, and Frank H. Hall, of Kane county, for state superintendent of public instruction.

The Democrats assembled in state convention April 11. Edward L. Cronkrite was nominated for state treasurer on the third ballot, and S. M. Etter for superintendent of public instruction on the first ballot.

The revolt within the party which began in 1872 and continued several years had spent its force in 1878. General John C. Smith received 206,458 votes for state treasurer; Cronkrite, Democrat, 170,085; Bates, Greenback Reformer, 65,689; Gorin, Prohibitionist, 2,228; James P. Slade received

205,461 votes for superintendent; Etter, Democrat, 171,336; Hall, Greenbacker, 65,487; Kate Hopkins, Prohibitionist, 2,109.

The Republicans also regained control of both branches of the legislature for the first time in six years and elected eleven of the nineteen members of congress.

Illinois was represented in the forty-sixth congress as follows: First district, William Aldrich; Second, George R. Davis; Third, Hiram Barber; Fourth, John C. Sherwin; Fifth, R. M. A. Hawk; Sixth, T. J. Henderson; Seventh, Philip C. Hayes; Eighth, Greenbury L. Fort; Ninth, Thomas A. Boyd; Tenth, Benjamin F. Marsh; Eleventh, James W. Singleton; Twelfth, William M. Springer; Thirteenth, A. E. Stevenson; Fourteenth, Joseph G. Cannon; Fifteenth, A. P. Forsythe; Sixteenth, William A. J. Sparks; Seventeenth, William R. Morrison; Eighteenth, John R. Thomas; Nineteenth, R. W. Townshend. Messrs. Singleton, Springer, Stevenson, Sparks, Morrison and Townshend were Democrats, and Forsythe a Greenbacker.

The legislature convened January 8, 1879. The contest for the Republican nomination for speaker was unusually spirited, as it was involved in the approaching election of a United States senator. The candidates were Isaac L. Morrison, Colonel William A. James, Thomas F. Mitchell and former Speaker James Shaw. Colonel James was elected on the fifth ballot. James Herrington was the nominee of the Democrats.

General Oglesby's term as United States senator was about to expire and he was a candidate for re-election. His claim was contested by General Logan, who had been defeated at the expiration of his own term by Judge Davis two years before. The contest between two gallant and greatly

beloved volunteer generals was an unusual situation; but it was conducted in the main in a friendly spirit. General Logan secured 80 votes in the Republican caucus and General Oglesby 26. General John C. Black was the nominee of the Democratic caucus. The election, which was held January 21, resulted in the choice of General Logan, with a majority of eight on joint ballot over all other candidates.

CHAPTER XIV

FAMOUS GARFIELD CAMPAIGN OF 1880—FIGHT OVER THE
UNIT RULE IN STATE CONVENTION—CONTESTING
DELEGATES ADMITTED AT CHICAGO—THE ELECTIONS—
ESTRANGEMENT BETWEEN GRANT AND WASHBURNE—
CAMPAIGN OF 1882—CULLOM ELECTED SENATOR.

THE presidential campaign of 1880 has never been surpassed in certain elements of popular interest. There were no such vital issues as were involved in the elections of 1860 and 1864. The interest centered rather in the personalities of the several Republican candidates before the nominating convention, and in the leaders of the respective factions. The leading candidates were General Grant and James G. Blaine.

In the autumn of the preceding year General Grant returned from his tour around the world. His journey from San Francisco to Chicago was a continuous triumph, surpassing those of Pompey and Caesar when they entered Rome at the head of their conquering legions. The demonstration in Grant's honor in Chicago could not fail to strengthen the sentiment for his nomination for a third term. His candidacy was promoted by a famous senatorial triumvirate, consisting of Roscoe Conkling, of New York; J. Donald Cameron, of Pennsylvania; and John A. Logan, of Illinois.

Meanwhile James G. Blaine was still the idol of a large element in his party, and was a formidable rival. Mr. Blaine's campaign in Illinois was committed to the management of General Stephen A. Hurlbut, Joseph Medill, of the

Chicago Tribune, and Charles B. Farwell. Other candidates were John Sherman, E. B. Washburne, William Windom and George F. Edmunds.

The Republican state convention assembled at Springfield, May 19. "The political cauldron," says John Moses, "was at white heat." General Green B. Raum, a "third termmer," presided. General Logan and Emery A. Storrs were in charge of General Grant's interests, and were determined to send a solid delegation to Chicago. General Hurlbut, one of the most brilliant orators Illinois ever produced, led in the fight for Blaine, and was ably assisted by Kirk Hawes, Senator Hunt, J. W. Robbins and others.

The struggle began over the contesting delegations from the First, Second and Third districts, in Cook county. The Cook county convention had broken up in a row and two sets of delegates were chosen. This placed the first three districts in a contest for seats in the state convention, and left the Grant forces from other parts of the state in control of the organization.

When the convention opened the state central committee gave seats to the Grant delegates chosen by the bolters of the Cook county convention, and this action was ratified by the convention by a vote of 341 to 261.

The second day was devoted to the appointment of delegates to the national convention. It had been the custom in former conventions for the delegates from the congressional districts to assemble in separate caucuses and nominate members of the several committees, presidential electors and delegates to national conventions from their respective districts. It was now proposed that the delegates should be selected by a committee appointed by the presiding officer of the convention. The debate continued all day and nearly all

night. General Logan, A. W. Metcalf, Richard Rowett and Isaac Clements made speeches in favor of the proposed change; while Charles Thomas, Kirk Hawes and J. M. Beardsley opposed it. A vote was reached at two o'clock in the morning of the third day, and was in favor of the Grant men by 389 to 304. The vote instructing the delegates to vote as a unit for General Grant was 399 to 285.

The delegates chosen to represent the state at the national convention were as follows: For the state at large, John A. Logan, Emery A. Storrs, Green B. Raum, D. T. Littler; by the committee of the convention: First district, John Wentworth, Stephen A. Douglas; Second, A. M. Wright, Richard S. Tuthill; Third, John L. Beveridge, L. J. Kadish; Fourth, N. C. Thompson, N. N. Ravlin; Fifth, J. B. Brown, Miles White; Sixth, Henry T. Noble, W. H. Shepard; Seventh, E. F. Bull, E. W. Willard; Eighth, J. B. Wilson, R. J. Hanna; Ninth, Joel Mershon, William Jackson; Tenth, Hosea Davis, F. P. Burgett; Eleventh, O. B. Hamilton, M. D. Massie; Twelfth, George M. Brinkerhoff, C. M. Eames; Thirteenth, John McNulta, V. Warren; Fourteenth, James Heyworth, J. B. Harris; Fifteenth, W. H. Barlow, A. P. Green; Sixteenth, J. M. Truitt, Lewis Krueghoff; Seventeenth, A. W. Metcalf, Richard Rowett; Eighteenth, C. O. Patier, J. M. Davis; Nineteenth, C. W. Pavey, W. H. Williams.

The old Fourth district, comprising Kane, DeKalb, McHenry, Boone and Winnebago counties, was divided. DeKalb, McHenry and Boone were for Blaine; Winnebago was for Grant; Kane was divided, with a majority in favor of Blaine. Hon. C. W. Marsh, of DeKalb, the inventor of

the Marsh harvester, was one of the contestants, as a selected delegate from the Fourth district. In his "Recollections," Mr. Marsh gives his version of the proceedings. When notices were posted by the state central committee, advising the delegates from congressional districts of the places and purposes of their meetings, the delegates discovered the selection of delegates to the national convention had been omitted. Mr. Marsh tells the sequel so admirably that it is reproduced as follows:

"As several of our delegates were standing before the notice and discussing the omission, Judge Coon, the late A. B. Coon, of Marengo, came to us. I asked the old gentleman what ought we to do in this case, and he answered, 'Why, damn 'em, they don't intend to let us select our own delegates. The thing for you to do is to go right ahead, nominate your men, as you have always done, send in their names, and then we will see what they are going to do about it.' We acted on this advice. Two delegates to the national convention and their alternates were duly selected. As the first three districts were in contest, the Fourth was the first on call; it was therefore the first to report, to present the names of its delegates with those selected for committees. The other anti-Grant district delegates followed suit; some having selected their men as we had, while others, seeing the point of our action, immediately withdrew into the hall or lobby and there hastily chose their delegates. But the convention, being under the control of the Grant majority, refused to give a hearing to such part of our reports as related to the selection of delegates, and through a committee named by the chair, appointed Grant men to represent our districts in the national convention. This was the action from which we appealed to the national convention."

The contesting delegates appointed by the districts, ignored by the state convention, but finally seated at Chicago, were: First district, W. J. Campbell, Eldridge G. Keith; Third, Elliott Anthony, Washington Hesing; Fourth, C. W. Marsh, Lot B. Smith; Fifth, Robert E. Logan, W. H. Holcomb; Sixth, James K. Edsall, John P. Hand; Ninth, John A. Gray, W. S. Gale; Tenth, Henry Tebbs, John Fletcher; Thirteenth, E. D. Blinn, F. Low; Seventeenth, W. E. Kieffner, Emil Guelsch.

A tilt between Chairman Raum and General Hurlbut was one of the spectacular incidents of the convention. Hurlbut arose to address the chair, but the latter did not recognize him. Hurlbut was a typical southerner, who never shrank from an encounter, and sarcasm was a weapon which he used with the consummate skill of Roscoe Conkling. Hurlbut addressed the chair a second and a third time, but still received no recognition from the presiding officer. At length Hurlbut walked with great dignity down the aisle of the convention hall, stood directly in front of the chairman, and coolly inquired: "Will the commissioner of internal revenue recognize the gentleman from Boone?"

Pandemonium instantly broke loose and it was several minutes before order could be restored.

Nominations for state officers were not made until the third day. The candidates for governor were Shelby M. Cullom, for a second term, General John B. Hawley, General John I. Rinaker, Colonel Greenbury L. Fort, Colonel Thomas S. Ridgway, Colonel Clark E. Carr and General John C. Smith. The contest was spirited throughout and resulted in the choice of Mr. Cullom on the fourth ballot.

John M. Hamilton, of McLean county, was nominated for lieutenant-governor on the first ballot; Henry D. Dement

was nominated for secretary of state on the second ballot; Charles P. Swigert for auditor; Edward Rutz, treasurer; James McCartney, attorney-general.

The presidential electors chosen were: George Schneider, Ethelbert Callahan, Robert T. Lincoln, John M. Smyth, James A. Kirk, Christopher M. Brazee, Robert E. Logan, Isaac H. Elliott, James Goodspeed, Alfred Sample, Sabin D. Puterbaugh, Emery C. Humphrey, William A. Grimshaw, James C. McQuigg, Jonathan H. Rowell, William R. Jewell, Jackson M. Sheets, James W. Peterson, Wilbur T. Norton, George W. Smith, William H. Johnson.

The Democratic state convention was held at Springfield, June 10. Lyman Trumbull was nominated for governor by acclamation; Lewis B. Parsons, lieutenant-governor; John H. Oberly, secretary of state; Lewis C. Starkel, auditor; Thomas Butterworth, treasurer; Lawrence Harmon, attorney-general.

The Greenback-Reform party nominated the following ticket: Governor, A. J. Streeter; lieutenant-governor, A. M. Adair; secretary of state, J. M. Thompson; auditor, W. T. Ingram; treasurer, J. W. Evans; attorney-general, H. G. Whitlock.

The national Republican convention assembled Wednesday, June 2, 1880, in the old Inter-state Exposition building in Chicago. The contest was fierce from the start and Illinois was the storm center. There were contesting delegations from several states, but the one in Illinois was most important, as the admission of the contestants would impair the prestige of General Grant.

The committee on credentials, with Senator Conger as its chairman, reported in favor of admitting the Illinois contestants, with the exception of those from the Second district.

After an exhaustive discussion, which continued two days, the convention adopted the report on Saturday.

This convention settled, for all time, the question of future representation by declaring that the congressional district shall be the unit; in other words, that the people of such district shall have the right to select their own delegates. This fatal blow at the "unit rule" was affirmed in a series of rules reported from the committee by General Garfield.

The platform was adopted Saturday and candidates were placed in nomination. James F. Joy, of Michigan, presented the name of James G. Blaine; Roscoe Conkling nominated General Grant, and John Sherman was nominated by General Garfield in the most brilliant speech made during the convention.

The balloting began on Monday, the fifth day of the convention. There were 756 delegates. On the first ballot Grant received 304 votes; Blaine, 284; Sherman, 93; with the remainder of the votes divided between Washburne, Edmunds and Windom. The loyalty of the "old guard" of 306 delegates to General Grant throughout the convention is a rare instance of personal devotion. Repeated ballots showed that neither Grant nor Blaine could be nominated. On Wednesday Blaine's delegates went over to Garfield, and he was nominated on the 36th ballot.

Chester A. Arthur was nominated for vice-president on the first ballot.

At the national Greenback convention, held in Chicago June 9, General James B. Weaver, of Iowa, was nominated for president and E. J. Chambers, of Texas, for vice-president.

The Democrats, in national convention in Cincinnati, nominated General Winfield Scott Hancock, of Pennsylvania,

for president, on the second ballot. William H. English, of Indiana, was nominated for vice-president.

The election resulted in a victory for the Garfield electors and the entire state Republican ticket. Garfield electors received 317,879 votes to 277,314 for Hancock. Cullom received 314,565 votes for governor; Trumbull, 277,532. The Republicans also carried both houses of the legislature and elected thirteen of the nineteen congressmen. Illinois was represented in the Forty-seventh congress as follows: First district, William Aldrich; Second, George R. Davis; Third, Charles B. Farwell; Fourth, John C. Sherwin; Fifth, R. M. A. Hawk; Sixth, T. J. Henderson; Seventh, William Cullen; Eighth, Lewis E. Payson; Ninth, John H. Lewis; Tenth, Benjamin F. Marsh; Eleventh, James W. Singleton; Twelfth, William M. Springer; Thirteenth, Dietrich C. Smith; Fourteenth, Joseph G. Cannon; Fifteenth, Samuel W. Moulton; Sixteenth, William A. J. Sparks; Seventeenth, William R. Morrison; Eighteenth, John R. Thomas; Nineteenth, R. W. Townshend. Messrs. Singleton, Springer, Moulton, Sparks, Morrison and Townshend were Democrats.

One of the incidents of this memorable campaign was the estrangement between General Grant and his old neighbor, E. B. Washburne. The writer is indebted to General A. L. Chetlain, of Galena, as he gives it in his "Recollections." When General Grant returned from his tour around the world, his friends who were managing his third term campaign claimed he could be nominated by acclamation; and the enthusiasm which attended his home-coming from abroad seemed to justify this belief. General Grant, when first consulted, declared he would not consent to be considered a candidate; but he finally modified this attitude by saying that he would make no effort to secure the nomination, and



ULYSSES S. GRANT

that it must come to him unsolicited or not at all. Mr. Washburne, General Grant's old neighbor at Galena, was then residing in Chicago, and promptly gave his support to the movement. After the ovations were over, and the anti-third term sentiment began to develop in the party, Mr. Washburne became convinced that General Grant would not allow his name to go before the convention if there was to be a contest; and he foresaw that a struggle was inevitable.

General Grant took his family to his home at Galena. Shortly afterward he started on a tour through the southern states, Cuba and Mexico. It had been arranged that Mr. Washburne should join the General and his party in Cuba and go with them to Mexico. For some reason which General Chetlain declared he never understood, Mr. Washburne did not carry out his agreement. As the preliminary campaign progressed it became apparent that the anti-third term sentiment was growing rapidly, and especially among German Republicans. An appeal was made to Mr. Washburne, as General Grant's nearest friend, to arrest the opposition and to secure his nomination. The suggestion was then made that should General Grant refuse to allow his name to go before the convention, that Mr. Washburne himself would be nominated. Others appealed to Mr. Washburne to openly avow himself a candidate. To all these overtures Mr. Washburne promptly replied: "I am a Grant man, and will support him for president."

In March, 1880, a Republican club was organized at Mt. Carroll, called the Washburne club, for the purpose of advancing the candidacy of Mr. Washburne. He addressed a letter to the president of the club, protesting against the use of his name, and said he "was a Grant man and not a candidate for president."

In spite of these protestations, however, Republicans throughout the state distrusted the loyalty of Mr. Washburne to General Grant. General Chetlain says he urged Mr. Washburne to dissuade his friends from openly supporting him. Mr. Washburne replied that he had done everything possible to prevent his friends from so doing. General Chetlain further admonished him and said: "Your only hope is with the Grant supporters. If anything should happen to him and you are on the right terms with his adherents, they would undoubtedly favor you, but the way things are going on, in such an emergency you would be ground to powder." To these admonitions Mr. Washburne briefly replied: "I have done all I can—more I can not do."

As the spring advanced Mr. Washburne continued to receive letters urging him to cut loose from General Grant, and openly declare himself a candidate. But he still insisted that he was committed to Grant, and would stand by his pledge. During all this time, however, Mr. Washburne was perplexed over the situation.

About the first of May General Grant visited Mr. Washburne at his home in Chicago. Their former friendly relations seemed unchanged. General Grant was on his way to Springfield, with a number of Republican leaders, to hold a conference. Mr. Washburne joined the party. He was somewhat indisposed, although his ailment was more mental than physical. At Springfield the party was invited to dine with Governor Cullom. The company, including Mr. Washburne, accepted the invitation. During the dinner, however, he asked to be excused on account of illness. He went to his hotel, took a late train for the east, and stopped at the home of a relative at Bridgeport, Connecticut, where he was detained several weeks by illness.

During the convention General Grant was at his home in Galena. He was kept informed of the proceedings by a private telegraph wire in the office of his old staff officer, General Rowley.

June 8, at 11 o'clock, a dispatch came to him stating that at 1 o'clock he would be nominated. Instead, however, at the appointed hour, General Grant received word that General Garfield had been nominated. General Grant exhibited no emotion. He arose from his seat, lighted a cigar and remarked: "Well, I am glad that so good a man as Garfield has received the nomination." He then went home to tell the news to his wife.

On the following day General Grant complained to General Rowley that his friends had not fairly treated him. "They assured me," he said, "that there would be no serious opposition to me in the convention. I could not afford to go before that convention and be defeated." General Grant keenly felt his defeat. He did not fully realize the strength of the opposition to a third term.

Mr. Washburne received only a small vote in the convention, although he was the second choice of many of the Grant delegates. He had reached Detroit on his return home when General Garfield was nominated. The feeling of the Grant men against Mr. Washburne intensified after the convention, and General Grant shared in this feeling. Mr. Washburne was charged with perfidy, and in the excitement much was said and done that was unjust to that gentleman.

General Chetlain believes that the leaders who attempted to make General Grant president a third term did so to head off a movement to nominate Mr. Washburne. Senator Conkling had been his bitter enemy for twenty years; General Logan feared Mr. Washburne's influence in Illinois, and

Senator Cameron did not want to see him president. In view of the prestige of General Grant, which had been augmented by his tour abroad, he was considered the most available candidate. Although Mr Washburne joined heartily in the movement to make his old friend again president, it is believed that by the middle of the winter he became convinced that General Grant would not be nominated, and held to that opinion to the last. It has been asserted that Mr. Washburne controlled enough votes in the convention to have nominated General Grant, had he so desired. This statement is not true. Mr. Washburne had a few friends among the anti-Grant delegates, but these were not under his control. His strength was with the friends of the general. There was no combination favoring Mr. Washburne or any one else who was opposed to General Grant. The contest was not between General Grant and some other candidate, but between General Grant and the third term idea.

The estrangement between these old friends was complete. They never met again after the dinner at the executive mansion at Springfield. General Grant, in completing his memoirs just before his death, almost entirely ignored Mr. Washburne. "The breach between these two great men of world-wide renown," says General Chetlain, "was the saddest that had ever occurred in the history of the nation."

General Chetlain observes that General Grant ought never to have consented to become a candidate for a third term; but that he should have urged his friends to work for the nomination of Mr. Washburne.

In February, 1885, General Grant was so ill at his home in New York City that his physicians believed that the end was near. Mr. Washburne went hurriedly to New York and returned in ten days greatly depressed in spirits. In

conversation with a friend, he said with some hesitation, that he had gone to New York in the hope that he might meet General Grant, and that a reconciliation might be effected. He registered at one of the leading hotels in the city, and the daily newspapers noticed his arrival. When asked if he had made any effort to see General Grant, Mr. Washburne replied: "No; the general knew I was in the city, and if he had desired to see me he could easily have notified me. He was the greater man, and it was for him to extend his hand, which I would have taken with pleasure."

General Grant distrusted the loyalty of Mr. Washburne. In this he erred grievously. Mr. Washburne may have felt the quickened flame of ambition stir his manly breast. He would scarcely have been human had it been otherwise. Sad, indeed, that Damon could not have loved his Pythias to the last! How are the mighty fallen in the midst of the battle! And in their death they were divided.

The Thirty-second general assembly convened January 5, 1881. There were 32 Republicans, 18 Democrats and one Independent in the senate; and 82 Republicans and 71 Democrats in the house. The senate was organized by the election of William J. Campbell, of Cook, president pro tempore. Horace H. Thomas was nominated in the Republican caucus for speaker by acclamation, and was elected over Bradford K. Durfee, of Macon county. Mr. Thomas was the first speaker chosen from Chicago. Governor Cullom, in his biennial address delivered January 7, announced that "the last dollar of the state debt was paid."

The legislature failed to pass the apportionment bills, and it was convened in special session for this purpose March 23, 1882. The congressional apportionment act of April 29

divided the state into twenty districts. The senatorial apportionment act was approved May 6.

James A. Garfield was inaugurated president March 4, 1881. Illinois was represented in his cabinet by Robert T. Lincoln as secretary of war. Among the president's early diplomatic appointments was that of General Hurlbut as minister to Peru. Hurlbut died at Lima, March 27, 1882. There is a tradition that President Garfield wanted to honor Colonel Ingersoll with a diplomatic appointment, but he feared he would offend the religious sentiment of the country.

The Republican state convention for 1882 was held at Springfield, June 28. General John C. Smith was nominated for state treasurer and Charles T. Stratton for state superintendent of public instruction.

At the Democratic state convention, held September 7, Alfred Orendorf was nominated for state treasurer, and Henry Raab for superintendent of instruction. The nominees of the Greenbackers were: Treasurer, Daniel McLaughlin; superintendent, Frank H. Hall. The Prohibitionists nominated John G. Irwin for treasurer and Elizabeth B. Brown for superintendent.

The elections resulted in a divided victory. General Smith was elected treasurer by a plurality of 6,137, and Raab led for superintendent by a smaller plurality. The Republicans, however, secured majorities in both branches of the legislature and elected twelve of the twenty members of congress. Illinois was represented in the Forty-eighth congress as follows: First district, R. W. Dunham; Second, John F. Finerty; Third, George R. Davis; Fourth, George E. Adams; Fifth, Reuben Ellwood; Sixth, Robert R. Hitt; Seventh, T. J. Henderson; Eighth, William Cullen; Ninth,

Lewis E. Payson; Tenth, N. E. Worthington; Eleventh, William H. Neece; Twelfth, James M. Riggs; Thirteenth, William M. Springer; Fourteenth, J. H. Rowell; Fifteenth, Joseph G. Cannon; Sixteenth, Aaron Shaw; Seventeenth, Samuel W. Moulton; Eighteenth, William R. Morrison; Nineteenth, R. W. Townshend; Twentieth, John R. Thomas. Messrs. Worthington, Neece, Riggs, Springer, Shaw, Moulton, Morrison and Townshend were Democrats.

The legislature convened January 2, 1883. There were 31 Republicans and 20 Democrats in the senate; and 77 Republicans and 76 Democrats in the house. Loren C. Collins, Jr., was elected speaker over Austin O. Sexton.

The political event of the session was the election of a United States senator to succeed David Davis. The Republican candidates were Richard J. Oglesby, Shelby M. Cullom, Green B. Raum and Thomas J. Henderson. Cullom was nominated in caucus on the fifth ballot, and he was elected over John M. Palmer, the choice of the Democrats. The objection was raised in the legislature that Mr. Cullom was not eligible, under the constitution, to election while serving as governor. Mr. Cullom entrusted his case to William J. Calhoun, who, in an able speech, removed the constitutional objection, and Mr. Cullom received every Republican vote except that of George E. Adams, a senator from Cook.

John M. Hamilton succeeded to the governorship. He was born in Union county, Ohio, May 28, 1847. He was graduated from the Ohio Wesleyan university in 1868, and a few years later he occupied a chair of languages in the Illinois Wesleyan university at Bloomington. In 1876 he was elected state senator from McLean county. He was a lawyer of high standing and the youngest man who ever occupied the executive chair in Illinois. He died September 23, 1905.

Upon the accession of Mr. Hamilton to the governorship, William J. Campbell, president pro tempore of the senate, became ex officio lieutenant-governor.

CHAPTER XV

BLAINE AND LOGAN CAMPAIGN OF 1884—GOVERNOR HAMILTON SAVES UNITED STATES SENATE TO THE REPUBLICANS
—GENERAL LOGAN RE-ELECTED SENATOR—HIS DEATH
—CHARLES B. FARWELL SUCCEEDS HIM.

THE political campaign opened early in Illinois in 1884. The Republican state convention assembled in Peoria, April 16. Colonel James A. Connolly presided. Governor Hamilton had an honorable ambition to be elected to the office, which had come to him through the resignation of Governor Cullom; but he withdrew from the contest when he discovered the drift in the convention was toward another. Ex-Governor Oglesby was nominated by acclamation. General John C. Smith was nominated for lieutenant-governor on the first ballot. Other nominations were: Secretary of state, Henry D. Dement; treasurer, Jacob Gross; attorney-general, George Hunt; auditor, Charles P. Swigert.

The platform emphasized the importance of state issues, including a revision of the criminal code and greater efficiency in the civil service.

The convention was enthusiastic in its support of General John A. Logan for president and sent a nearly unanimous delegation in his favor to Chicago as follows: State at large, Shelby M. Cullom, John M. Hamilton, Burton C. Cook, Clark E. Carr; First district, J. L. Woodward, Abner Taylor; Second, W. H. Ruger, C. E. Piper; Third, George R. Davis, J. R. Wheeler; Fourth, Samuel B. Raymond, L. C. Collins, Jr.; Fifth, L. M. Kelley, Charles E. Fuller; Sixth,

Norman Lewis, O. C. Towne; Seventh, I. G. Baldwin, H. T. Noble; Eighth, R. W. Willet, A. J. Bell; Ninth, S. T. Rogers, Thomas Vennum; Tenth W. W. Wright, R. H. Whiting; Eleventh, C. V. Chandler, C. A. Ballard; Twelfth, A. C. Matthews, William W. Berry; Thirteenth, Dr. William Jayne, D. C. Smith; Fourteenth, Joseph W. Fifer, George K. Ingham; Fifteenth, Charles G. Eckhart, L. S. Wilson; Sixteenth, Charles Churchill, Harrison Black; Seventeenth, John I. Rinaker, J. M. Truett; Eighteenth, R. A. Halbert, H. Reuter; Nineteenth, Thomas S. Ridgway, C. T. Strattan; Twentieth, T. M. Simpson, W. McAdams.

The presidential electors were Andrew Shuman, Isaac Lesem, George Bass, John C. Tegtmeyer, John M. Smyth, James A. Sexton, Albert J. Hopkins, Conrad J. Fry, William H. Shepard, Robert A. Childs, David McWilliams, Rufus W. Miles, John A. Harvey, Francis M. Davis, J. Otis Humphrey, Edward D. Blinn, William O. Wilson, Rufus Cope, John H. Dunscomb, Cicero J. Lindly, Jasper Partidge, Matthew J. Inscore.

The Democratic state convention met at Peoria, July 2. Judge Monroe C. Crawford presided. The following ticket was nominated: For governor, Carter H. Harrison; lieutenant-governor, Henry Seiter; secretary of state, Michael J. Dougherty; treasurer, Alfred Orendorf; auditor, Walter E. Carlin; attorney-general, Robert L. McKinlay.

The Prohibitionists held their state convention at Bloomington, June 18, and nominated the following ticket: Governor, J. B. Hobbs; lieutenant-governor, James L. Perryman; secretary of state, C. W. Enos; treasurer, Uriah Copp; auditor, A. B. Irwin; attorney-general, Hale Johnson.

The Greenback party, at its convention held in July, made these nominations: Governor, Jesse Harper; lieutenant-gov-

ernor, A. C. Vanderwater; secretary of state, H. E. Baldwin; treasurer, Benjamin W. Goodhue; auditor, E. F. Reeves; attorney-general, John N. Gwin.

The national Republican convention met in Chicago, June 3, 1884. The candidates for president were James G. Blaine, Chester A. Arthur, George F. Edmunds, John A. Logan and John Sherman. General Logan was placed in nomination by Senator Cullom. Mr. Blaine was nominated on the fourth ballot. General Logan was nominated for vice-president by a unanimous vote.

The Democratic party met in national convention in Chicago, June 10. Grover Cleveland, of New York, was nominated for president on the second ballot; Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, was nominated for vice-president.

The Greenback national party, at its convention held in Indianapolis, May 28, nominated General Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, for president and General A. M. West, of Mississippi, for vice-president.

The Prohibitionists held the last convention of the year in Pittsburg, July 23. John P. St. John, of Kansas, was nominated for president and William Daniel, of Maryland, for vice-president.

After two unsuccessful attempts Mr. Blaine seemed about to realize the ambition of his life. The nomination of General Logan for the second place on the ticket was regarded as an element of strength. The great battleground was in New York, where the result was so close that the defeat of Mr. Blaine might be attributed to any one of several causes: to the prominence of the Prohibitionists, to the disaffection of Roscoe Conkling; or to Dr. Burchard's unfortunate alliteration of "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." All were made scapegoats and were never forgiven by the admirers of the

"plumed knight." The impartial historian, however, must record the fact that enough votes were stolen in New York to defeat Mr. Blaine, on the face of the returns, and give the presidency to Grover Cleveland.

The Blaine electors carried Illinois by a plurality of 25,000 in round numbers. They received 337,469 votes; Cleveland electors, 312,351; St. John, 12,074; Butler, 10,776.

The entire state ticket was elected by smaller majorities. Oglesby received 334,234 votes; Harrison, 319,635. The legislature was almost evenly divided in both houses.

The returns from the Sixth district of Cook county showed that Rudolph Brand had received 6,696 votes and Henry W. Leman 6,686. The state board of canvassers, however, reported to Governor Hamilton that from statements and affidavits presented with the returns, Leman really had a plurality of 390, but in view of all the facts the board declined to certify the election of either claimant.

Governor Hamilton decided that he had a right, under the circumstances, of going back of the original returns. He became satisfied that Leman had received a majority of the votes polled and issued to him a certificate of election. Thus Governor Hamilton thwarted a scheme, conceived after the election, by which this one vote would have secured a Democratic majority in the legislature and the election of a Democratic United States senator to succeed General Logan, and probably changed the complexion of the United States senate. Thus do trifles sometimes change the current of history.

The action of Governor Hamilton in converting a ministerial act into a judicial inquiry, was criticized in some quarters at the time, but it was finally sustained by the legislature, the press and the public.

Illinois was represented in the Forty-ninth congress from 1885 to 1887, by ten Republicans and ten Democrats, as follows: First district, R. W. Dunham; Second, Frank Lawler; Third, James H. Ward; Fourth, George E. Adams; Fifth, Albert J. Hopkins; Sixth, Robert R. Hitt; Seventh, T. J. Henderson; Eighth, Ralph Plumb; Ninth, Lewis E. Payson; Tenth, N. E. Worthington; Eleventh, William H. Neece; Twelfth, James M. Riggs; Thirteenth, William M. Springer; Fourteenth, J. H. Rowell; Fifteenth, Joseph G. Cannon; Sixteenth, Silas Z. Landes; Seventeenth, John R. Eden; Eighteenth, William R. Morrison; Nineteenth, R. W. Townshend; Twentieth, John R. Thomas. Messrs. Dunham, Adams, Hopkins, Hitt, Henderson, Plumb, Payson, Rowell, Cannon and Thomas were Republicans.

The organization of the senate was completed January 7, 1885, by the election of William J. Campbell, president for a third term. The senate contained 26 Republicans, 24 Democrats and one Greenback-Democrat.

The house was not so easily organized. There were 76 Republicans, 76 Democrats, with E. M. Haines, independent, holding the balance of power. Charles E. Fuller, of Boone, was nominated for speaker by the Republican caucus; Edward L. Cronkrite, of Stephenson, was the Democratic nominee. E. M. Haines was made temporary speaker. A permanent organization was not effected until January 29, when the Democrats, finding they could not elect Cronkrite, voted for Haines, and he was elected speaker. The final vote stood, Haines, 78; Fuller, 74; and one, Haines, for Cronkrite.

The new state officials were inaugurated January 30. "Uncle Dick" Oglesby had fulfilled his threat, made during the campaign that he would "lam Carter Harrison out of his boots, so help me God!" For a third time he took the oath of

office as governor of this imperial state. This distinction has been conferred upon no other public servant. The honor was the more conspicuous because a period of twenty years had elapsed between his first and third elections. It is given to few men to retain this pre-eminence for such a period.

General John Corson Smith, the lieutenant-governor, was born in Philadelphia, February 13, 1832. He became a resident of Galena and from there enlisted as a private in the Ninety-sixth regiment. At the close of the war he was brevetted a brigadier-general. His civil and military career were alike honorable.

One of the results of the November election was the prolonged and dramatic senatorial deadlock of 1885. General Logan was about to complete his second term as United States senator, and had been nominated by the Republican caucus. The Democratic caucus nominated Colonel William R. Morrison. The organization of the house had been delayed so that the first ballot was not taken until February 10, and there was no ballot in joint assembly until February 18, when Logan received 101 votes; Morrison 94; Haines, 4; 3 scattering. Thus Logan lacked only one vote of election. Ballots were taken February 19 and 20, with practically the same result. During the remainder of the month and throughout March and April there was not a time when both parties voted for senator on the same ballot. The view prevailed that only the majority of a quorum, and not a majority of all members elected, was necessary to an election. Thus there was an ever-present fear that the absence of a member would enable the enemy to elect a senator; and one side and then the other would refrain from voting in order to break the quorum. As a matter of fact, however, no senator has ever been elected

without the votes of an actual majority of all the members being present and voting.

Three members of the legislature died during the session. Representative Robert E. Logan, Republican, of the Nineteenth district, died February 26. Senator Frank M. Bridges, Democrat, of the Thirty-seventh district, died March 20. Special elections were held. Representative Logan was succeeded by a Republican, and Senator Bridges by a Democrat. Thus the political complexion of the assembly remained unchanged. The third death was that of Representative J. Henry Shaw, Democrat, of the Thirty-fourth district. This district was a Democratic stronghold, and it was taken for granted that Shaw's successor would be a Democrat. Shrewd Republican leaders, however, proposed a "still hunt" in the district. A special election was called for May 6. The Democrats nominated Arthur Leeper. The Republicans made no nomination, and, to all appearances, proposed to allow the election to go by default. A meeting of Logan's friends was held at the Leland hotel in Springfield, at which the details of the proposed strategy were completed. Among those in the secret were Daniel Shepard, secretary of the state central committee; Charles E. Fuller, a member of the house; and Jacob Wheeler, then United States marshal, and formerly of the Thirty-fourth district.

Hon. J. McCan Davis, clerk of the Illinois supreme court, has given an interesting version of this unique strategy, in a paper read before the Illinois State Historical Society in 1909. A single paragraph is quoted: "A few days before the senatorial election, pursuant to the plan arranged in Springfield, trusted emissaries were sent through the Thirty-fourth district, some in the guise of stock-buyers, others as insurance agents, others as sewing machine agents—all with plausible

excuses for being in the neighborhood. They visited Republicans whom they could trust with the secret, and left with them tickets bearing the name of Captain William H. Weaver, a Republican of Menard county. Instructions were given that the Republicans were to manifest the utmost indifference and were to remain away from the polls until 3 o'clock or later in the afternoon of the day of the election. Then they were to go quietly to the polls and deposit the Weaver tickets."

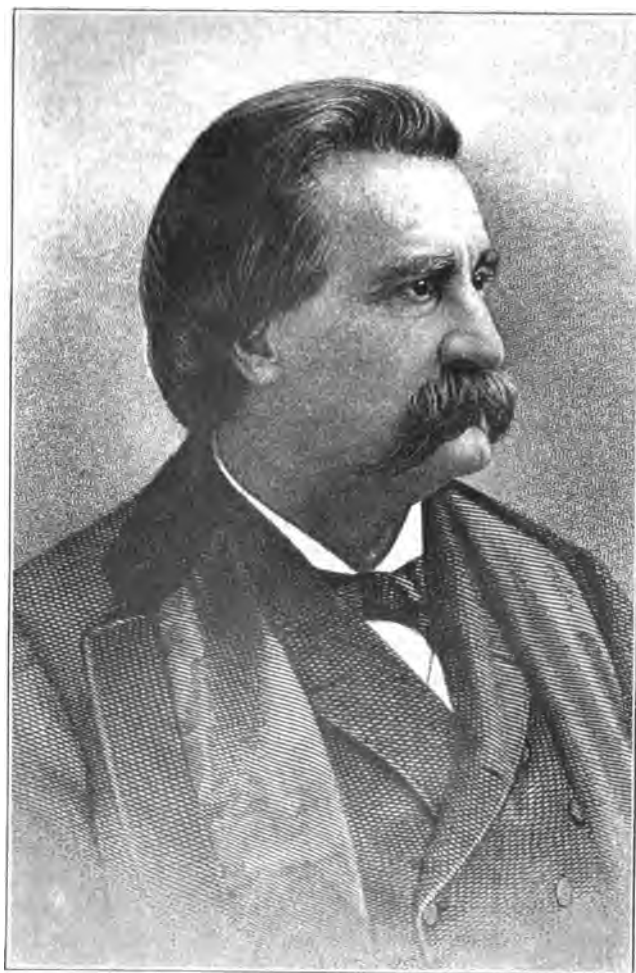
The Democrats were off their guard, and were defeated by this sleight-of-hand performance. Weaver was elected by a majority of 336 votes.

May 14, the day before Weaver was to be sworn in, the Democrats made a final effort to avert the inevitable. Every member was present, and Morrison received 101 votes. The Democrats then concentrated their strength on Judge Lambert Tree, but without success. May 19 General Logan was elected on the 120th ballot. He received 103 votes; Lambert Tree, 96, and 5 scattering.

The triumph of General Logan was an event of national significance, as Democratic successes in other states had made the United States senate dangerously close. Congratulations by hundreds were sent to General Logan from all parts of the country. He had been the hero of many battles, and this victory brought him to the pinnacle of his fame.

General Logan lived to serve less than one-third of his last senatorial term. He died in Washington, D. C., December 26, 1886. Although he was only sixty years of age, his career was one of remarkable achievement.

John Alexander Logan was born in Brownsville, Jackson county, Illinois, February 9, 1826. His father was Doctor John Logan, after whom Logan county was named. The son served in the Mexican war, enlisting in 1847 with the Fifth



JOHN A. LOGAN

Illinois regiment. He was county clerk and prosecuting attorney of Jackson county, and a Buchanan presidential elector in 1856. Logan's legislative career began in 1852, when he was elected a member of the general assembly, and re-elected in 1856. In 1858 he was elected member of congress as a Douglas Democrat, and re-elected in 1860. He resigned his seat in congress early in 1861, raised the Thirty-first company of Illinois volunteers and was commissioned its colonel by Governor Yates. His military career was brilliant and he became a major-general. General Logan re-entered congress in 1866, from the state at large, and was re-elected in 1868 and 1870. He was elected United States senator in 1871 and re-elected in 1879. His defeat as a candidate for the presidential nomination in 1884, and his failure of election to the vice-presidency the same year, did not impair his prestige. He was the author of "The Great Conspiracy" and "The Volunteer Soldier of America."

General Logan was the greatest union general of the civil war, who entered the service as a volunteer. His career in civil life was equally honorable. As chairman of the senate committee on military affairs he was in a position of great power. The elements of his success are easily analyzed. His physical bravery knew no fear; his intellectual honesty was above suspicion; his moral heroism was noble. He had the imperial will that characterized Stephen A. Douglas and the same fearlessness in carrying a fight to a finish. A contemporary historian has said that, "without the logical power of Douglas, the legal ability of Palmer, the eloquence of Yates, or the invective of Oglesby, Logan was endowed with a certain intellectual dash which always commanded attention." Logan was the idol of the volunteer soldiers, and it was through his initiative as commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the

Republic, that May 30 has been consecrated as Memorial Day. Hereafter the reading of General Logan's order setting aside this date will be made a part of Memorial day services. This order was issued this year by Commander-in-chief Trimble.

Illinois has duly honored the memory of her illustrious son. In 1897 an equestrian statue was dedicated on the lake front in Chicago. The Illinois legislature, in 1907, set apart a room in the state house for the preservation of the mementoes collected by General Logan and presented to the state by his widow.

General Logan was a statesman, soldier, patriot, loyal friend, and in his latest and best years a Christian gentleman.

The political events of 1886 do not call for extended notice. The Democrats held the first state convention of the year at Springfield, August 26. Henry Francis J. Ricker, of Adams county, was nominated for treasurer, and Franklin T. Oldt, of Carroll, for superintendent of public instruction.

The Republican convention assembled September 1, and nominated John R. Tanner, of Clay county, for treasurer, and Richard Edwards, of Bureau county, for superintendent.

The platform opposed the ownership of land by non-resident aliens, endorsed the proposed constitutional amendment concerning contract labor, and approved the inter-state commerce law proposed by Senator Cullom.

The Greenback party nominated John Budlong, of Winnebago, for treasurer, and Daniel L. Braucher for superintendent. The nominees of the Prohibitionists were: For treasurer, Henry W. Austin, and Ulrich Z. Gilmer for superintendent.

The Republicans elected their state ticket, with increased pluralities over 1884. The vote for treasurer was as follows:

Tanner, 276,680; Ricker, 240,864; Budlong, 34,821; Austin, 19,766. For superintendent of public instruction: Edwards, 276,710; Oldt, 246,782; Braucher, 34,701; Gilmer, 19,402. The Republicans had a plurality of over 35,000, but were in a minority of more than 18,000 in the state. The Republicans also secured control of both branches of the legislature and elected fourteen of the twenty congressmen. Illinois sent the following delegates to the Fiftieth congress: First district, R. W. Dunham; Second, Frank Lawler; Third, William E. Mason; Fourth, George E. Adams; Fifth, A. J. Hopkins; Sixth, Robert R. Hitt; Seventh, T. J. Henderson; Eighth, Ralph Plumb; Ninth, Lewis E. Payson; Tenth, Philip Sidney Post; Eleventh, William G. Gest; Twelfth, G. A. Anderson; Thirteenth, William M. Springer; Fourteenth, J. H. Rowell; Fifteenth, Joseph G. Cannon; Sixteenth, Silas Z. Landes; Seventeenth, Edward Lane; Eighteenth, Jehu Baker; Nineteenth, R. W. Townshend; Twentieth, John R. Thomas. Messrs. Lawler, Anderson, Springer, Landes, Lane and Townshend were Democrats.

The Thirty-fifth general assembly convened January 5, 1887. The senate was composed of 32 Republicans, 17 Democrats, one labor member and one Prohibitionist. August W. Bergren was chosen president pro tempore. He was a native of Sweden, had served four terms as sheriff of Knox county, and had entered upon his second term as senator.

There were 78 Republicans in the house, 66 Democrats, eight labor members and one Prohibitionist, James Lamont, of Winnebago county. The candidates for speaker were Dr. William F. Calhoun, Joseph B. Messick, Charles E. Fuller and David T. Littler. Dr. Calhoun was elected after several ballots.

The political event of the session was the election of a United States senator to succeed General Logan. Charles B. Farwell, John M. Hamilton, L. E. Payson, J. G. Cannon, Thomas J. Henderson, Clark E. Carr, Green B. Raum and H. C. Burchard received votes in the Republican caucus. Mr. Farwell was nominated on the second ballot and was elected January 18. William R. Morrison was the nominee of the Democrats.

Mr. Farwell was born in Steuben county, New York, July 1, 1823. With his father's family he settled in Ogle county, and in 1844 he removed to Chicago. In 1864 he became a member of Farwell, Field & Company, which was later known as John V. Farwell & Company. Mr. Farwell served six years in congress. He was also given a certificate of election to the Forty-fourth congress, but his seat was contested by John V. Le Moyne, to whom it was awarded. Mr. Farwell's experience in large business affairs made him a valuable member of the senate.

February 22, 1887, there was a proceeding in the general assembly for which there was no precedent. It was a joint memorial service in honor of "our deceased distinguished citizens, General John A. Logan and Judge David Davis."

CHAPTER XVI

HARRISON CAMPAIGN OF 1888—CULLOM RETURNED TO THE
SENATE—REVERSES OF 1890 AND 1892—ELECTION OF
CLEVELAND AND ALTGELD—PALMER CHOSEN SENATOR.

THE Republicans of Illinois and the nation organized their forces early in 1888 to defeat the re-election of Grover Cleveland to the presidency. Mr. Cleveland had been the only Democrat elected to that office since James Buchanan, thirty-two years before.

The Republican state convention met at Springfield, May 2. There were seven candidates for governor: Joseph W. Fifer, John McNulta, Clark E. Carr, James A. Connolly, John I. Rinaker, John C. Smith and Francis M. Wright. Fifer led on the first ballot, and was nominated on the fifth.

Lyman B. Ray, of Grundy, was nominated for lieutenant-governor on the second ballot. The office of secretary of state was sought by I. N. Pearson, of Macomb; Jasper N. Reece, of Sangamon; W. F. Calhoun, of Dewitt, and Thomas C. McMillan, of Chicago. Pearson was nominated on the fifth ballot. There were ten candidates for auditor, and it required six ballots to award the honor to Charles W. Pavey. George Hunt was renominated for attorney-general by acclamation, and Charles Becker was named for treasurer.

The platform was mainly devoted to an arraignment of President Cleveland's administration. General Walter Q. Gresham was endorsed as the candidate of Illinois for the presidency.

The Democratic state convention was held at Springfield, May 23. John M. Palmer was nominated for governor; Andrew J. Bell, lieutenant-governor; N. Douglas Ricks, secretary of state; Andrew Welch, auditor; Charles H. Wacker, treasurer; Jacob R. Creighton, attorney-general. Although General Palmer had reached the age of three score and ten, he made a vigorous canvass and secured a larger vote than Carter Harrison four years previous.

The Democrats met in St. Louis June 6. Grover Cleveland was renominated amid great enthusiasm, and Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, was named for vice-president. The Republicans met in national convention in Chicago June 20. The principal candidates for president were Benjamin Harrison, John Sherman, Walter Q. Gresham, Chauncey M. Depew, Russell A. Alger and William B. Allison. Mr. Harrison was nominated on the eighth ballot. Levi P. Morton, of New York, was named for vice-president.

The main issue of the campaign was the tariff. Up to this time Grover Cleveland had been a stranger to defeat in his political ambitions. This fact spurred the Republicans to a strenuous fight. The result was so decisive that the dangers of 1876 and 1884 were averted.

General Harrison carried Illinois over Cleveland, although he received a minority of all the votes cast. The result was as follows: Harrison, 370,473; Cleveland, 348,378; Clinton B. Fisk, Prohibitionist, 21,695; A. J. Streeter, Labor, 7,090.

For governor, Mr. Fifer fell behind the national ticket, and General Palmer made a gain of about seven thousand votes. The official figures were: Fifer, 367,860; Palmer, 355,313; Harts, Prohibitionist, 18,874; Jones, Labor, 6,394.

The vote for the other Republican state officers did not differ greatly from that cast for Harrison and Morton.

The Republicans obtained control of both branches of the legislature, and elected thirteen congressmen, as follows: First district, Abner Taylor; Second, Frank Lawler; Third, William E. Mason; Fourth, George E. Adams; Fifth, A. J. Hopkins; Sixth, Robert R. Hitt; Seventh, T. J. Henderson; Eighth, Charles A. Hill; Ninth, Lewis E. Payson; Tenth, Philip Sidney Post; Eleventh, William H. Gest; Twelfth, Scott Wike; Thirteenth, William M. Springer; Fourteenth, J. H. Rowell; Fifteenth, Joseph G. Cannon; Sixteenth, George W. Fithian; Seventeenth, Edward Lane; Eighteenth, William S. Forman; Nineteenth, R. W. Townshend; Twentieth, George W. Smith. Messrs. Lawler, Wike, Springer, Fithian, Lane, Forman and Townshend were Democrats. Townshend died in office, and was succeeded by James R. Williams, a Democrat.

The Thirty-sixth general assembly convened January 7, 1889. There were 35 Republicans, 15 Democrats and one labor member in the senate. The Republicans thus had a greater majority in this chamber than ever before. The house was composed of 80 Republicans, 72 Democrats and one labor member. These figures gave the party a larger majority on joint ballot than at any session since 1871.

Theodore Chapman, of Jersey county, was elected president pro tempore of the senate. Colonel Asa C. Matthews, of Pike county, was the unanimous choice of the Republican caucus for speaker, and he was elected over Clayton E. Crafts, of Chicago, the Democratic nominee.

Colonel Matthews was born in Pike county, Illinois, and was graduated from Illinois college in 1855. He enlisted as a private in the 99th regiment of volunteer infantry, and in

1864 became its colonel. In 1869 Colonel Matthews was appointed collector of internal revenue for his district, and retained the office until 1875. He was then made supervisor of internal revenue.

Joseph W. Fifer was inaugurated governor of Illinois January 14, 1889. He was born in Stanton, Augusta county, Virginia, October 28, 1840. The family removed to McLean county, Illinois, in 1857. The son enlisted as a private in the Thirty-third regiment, and he has ever since borne the name of "Private Joe." He was severely wounded in the assault on Jackson, but he recovered and returned to his regiment. After the war Mr. Fifer graduated from Wesleyan university at Bloomington in 1868, and was admitted to the bar the following year. He served eight years as state's attorney of McLean county, and in this capacity he attained a high reputation as a criminal lawyer. Mr. Fifer subsequently entered the state senate, where he remained four years. He was an able debater and an efficient and faithful executive.

Lieutenant-Governor Ray was born in Crittenden county, Vermont, August 17, 1831, and had been a resident of Illinois since 1852. In 1872 he was chosen a member of the house, and in 1882 he was elected state senator and served four years. He was an able and popular presiding officer.

Senator Cullom's first term expired March 4, 1889. The absolute control by the Republicans in both houses made an election of a successor an easy matter. Mr. Cullom was renominated in the Republican caucus without a dissenting vote, and without leaving his seat in the senate to make a canvass. This fact had no precedent in the history of the state. Senator Cullom was re-elected January 22 over General Palmer, the Democratic nominee. Each candidate received the full vote of his party.

Speaker Matthews' service as presiding officer of the house was brief. His friends urged President Harrison to appoint him commissioner of internal revenue. The president was unable to make this appointment, but a short time later he named Colonel Matthews for first comptroller of the treasury. When the news reached Springfield the house took a recess to congratulate Colonel Matthews. This tribute came from Democrats as well as Republicans.

Colonel Matthews resigned the speakership May 10, and was succeeded by James H. Miller, of Stark county.

One of the important acts of the legislature was the passage of a bill to create sanitary districts. The law was intended primarily for the benefit of Chicago, and it was under its provisions that the drainage canal was constructed.

A special session of the general assembly was called by Governor Fifer to convene July 24, 1890, to enact legislation made necessary by the selection of Chicago as the site of the Columbian exposition. Four days before the legislature assembled, speaker Miller died at Manitou Springs, Colorado. William G. Cochran, of Moultrie county, was chosen his successor.

The exposition was given the use of all state lands, including parks, in and adjacent to Chicago. A resolution was adopted providing for the submission of a constitutional amendment, giving the city of Chicago the power upon consent of her voters, to issue bonds to the amount of \$5,000,000. The proceeds from the sale of these bonds were to be turned over to the managers of the World's Columbian Exposition. The special session adjourned August 1.

The Republican party, not only in Illinois, but throughout the nation, suffered in 1890 one of the periodical reverses that are sure to come under representative government. The

desire for a change will assert itself now and then with irresistible force in individuals, communities and states. The wisdom of the change may be challenged, but the fact remains.

The campaign was opened in Illinois by the Democrats, with a state convention held at Springfield, June 3. Edward S. Wilson, of Richland county, was nominated for treasurer, and Henry Raab, of St. Clair, was named for superintendent of public instruction. The convention made an innovation by nominating General Palmer for United States senator. The platform contained a plank which favored the election of senators by a direct vote of the people.

The Republican convention was held at Springfield, June 24. General John M. McNulta was chosen permanent presiding officer. Franz Amberg, of Chicago, was nominated for treasurer on the second ballot. Dr. Richard Edwards was renominated for superintendent of public instruction without opposition.

The platform declared for the Australian ballot system and for amending the compulsory education law of 1889.

The Democratic state ticket was elected. Wilson had a majority of 9,847 over Amberg for treasurer, and Raab led Edwards by 34,042. The Democrats also elected a majority of the members of the house. The Republicans, however, retained control of the senate.

The greatest change was in the complexion of the congressional delegation. The Democrats elected thirteen congressmen; Republicans, six; while Lewis Steward represented the Farmers' Mutual Benevolent Alliance.

Illinois was represented in the Fifty-second congress as follows: First district, Abner Taylor; Second, L. E. McGann; Third, A. C. Durborow, Jr.; Fourth, Walter C. Newberry; Fifth, Albert J. Hopkins; Sixth, Robert R. Hitt;

Seventh, Thomas J. Henderson; Eighth, Lewis Steward; Ninth, Herman W. Snow; Tenth, Philip Sidney Post; Eleventh, Ben T. Cable; Twelfth, Scott Wike; Thirteenth, William M. Springer; Fourteenth, Owen Scott; Fifteenth, Samuel T. Busey; Sixteenth, George W. Fithian; Seventeenth, Edward Lane; Eighteenth, William S. Forman; Nineteenth, James R. Williams; Twentieth, George W. Smith. Messrs. Taylor, Hopkins, Hitt, Henderson, Post and Smith were Republicans. Steward was elected by the Farmers' Alliance. Mr. Cannon was defeated for the first time since he entered congress in 1872.

The defeat of the Republican party may be attributed to the fact that the McKinley tariff bill had become a law only a few weeks before the election, and thus the country was not prepared to pass judgment upon its merits. Another factor contributed to the result in Illinois. The disparity between the majorities for Wilson for treasurer and Raab for superintendent shows the opposition to the school law was the greatest cause of Republican defection.

The Thirty-seventh general assembly convened January 7, 1891. There were 27 Republicans and 24 Democrats in the senate, which was organized by the election of Milton W. Matthews, of Champaign, as president pro tempore.

The house was composed of 77 Democrats, 73 Republicans and three members of the Farmers' Alliance. Clayton E. Crafts was elected speaker over David Hunter, of Winnebago, the Republican nominee. Dr. Hosea H. Moore, of Wayne county, received the vote of the Farmers' Alliance.

Mr. Farwell's term as United States senator expired March 4, 1891. The Democrats lacked two of a majority on joint ballot in the general assembly, with the members of the Farmers' Alliance holding the balance of power. These facts

resulted in another prolonged senatorial deadlock. General Palmer was the Democratic nominee, by virtue of his endorsement at the preceding state convention. General Oglesby was nominated at the Republican caucus. A. J. Streeter was the candidate of the Farmers' Alliance.

On the first ballot every member of both houses was present and voted, but there was no election. The struggle continued until March 11, when General Palmer was chosen on the 154th ballot. He received 103 votes, the exact number required to elect him. Two of these were cast by Moore and Cockrell, members of the Farmers' Alliance.

The campaign of 1892 resulted far more disastrously to the Republicans than did the off-year election two years previous.

The first state convention of the year was held by the Democrats at Springfield, April 27, and resulted in the nomination of the following ticket: Governor, John P. Altgeld; lieutenant-governor, Joseph B. Gill; secretary of state, William H. Hinrichsen; treasurer, Rufus N. Ramsey; auditor, David Gore; attorney-general, Maurice T. Moloney; congressmen-at-large, John C. Black and Andrew J. Hunter. Under the act of congress, based on the census of 1890, Illinois was entitled to twenty-two congressmen. The legislature, however, had not made a new apportionment, and the two additional congressmen were chosen from the state at large.

The Republican state convention assembled at Springfield in May. Congressman A. J. Hopkins presided. Joseph W. Fifer was chosen for governor; Lyman B. Ray for lieutenant-governor; Isaac N. Pierson, secretary of state; Charles W. Pavey, auditor. All these were renominations. George W. Prince was named for attorney-general; Henry L. Hertz,



JOHN M. PALMER

treasurer; George S. Willits and Richard Yates, congressmen-at-large.

A state convention of the People's party was held at Danville, May 19. Its ticket was as follows: For governor, Nathan M. Barrett; lieutenant-governor, Charles G. Dixon; secretary of state, Frederick G. Blood; treasurer, John Mc Elroy; auditor S. C. Hill; attorney-general, Jesse Cox; congressmen-at-large, Jesse Harper and Michael McDonough. At the national convention of this party, James B. Weaver, of Iowa, was nominated for president, and James G. Field, of Virginia, for vice-president.

The Prohibitionists nominated Robert R. Link for governor; James Lamont, lieutenant-governor; John T. Killam, secretary of state; Thomas S. Marshall, treasurer; Samuel D. Noe, auditor; Alonzo P. Wright, attorney-general; congressmen-at-large, Francis Andrews and James S. Felter. The Prohibitionists in national convention nominated John Bidwell, of California, for president, and James B. Cranfield, of Texas, for vice-president.

The national Republican convention assembled in Minneapolis June 7. Governor William McKinley, of Ohio, presided. President Benjamin Harrison was renominated on the first ballot. The vote was as follows: Harrison, 535; McKinley, 182; Blaine, 181; Thomas B. Reed, 4; Robert T. Lincoln, 1. Whitelaw Reid, of New York, was nominated for vice-president. It is a fact worthy of note that fate closed the door of the White House against the greatest three parliamentary leaders in American history: Henry Clay, Stephen A. Douglas and James G. Blaine; as well as against two other of the greatest statesmen, Daniel Webster and William H. Seward.

The Democratic national convention assembled in Chicago, June 21. Grover Cleveland was nominated for a third time on the first ballot. Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, was nominated for vice-president. The election of Mr. Stevenson gave Illinois its first vice-president. He had served four years in congress and was first assistant postmaster-general from 1885 to 1889, by appointment of President Cleveland.

The campaign was fought entirely on the tariff issue, and resulted in the election of Mr. Cleveland.

The result in Illinois was a victory for the Democratic national, state and legislative tickets. Eleven Republicans and eleven Democrats were elected members of congress. It was the first time since 1856 that Illinois had given its electoral vote for a Democratic president, and not since 1852 had the state chosen a governor from that party. The Harrison electors received 399,288 votes, and the Cleveland electors 426,281, a plurality of 26,993.

John P. Altgeld was elected governor by 425,558 votes, over Fifer, who received 402,676 votes. Altgeld's plurality was 22,882.

Illinois sent the following delegation to the Fifty-third congress: For the state at large, John C. Black and Andrew Hunter; First district, J. F. Aldrich; Second, Lawrence E. McGann; Third, A. C. Durborow; Fourth, Julius Goldzier; Fifth, Albert J. Hopkins; Sixth, Robert R. Hitt; Seventh, T. J. Henderson; Eighth, Robert A. Childs; Ninth, Hamilton K. Wheeler; Tenth, Philip Sidney Post; Eleventh, Benjamin F. Marsh; Twelfth, John J. McDannold; Thirteenth, W. M. Springer; Fourteenth, B. F. Funk; Fifteenth, Joseph G. Cannon; Sixteenth G. W. Fithian; Seventeenth, Edward Lane; Eighteenth, William S. Forman; Nineteenth, James R. Williams; Twentieth, George W. Smith. A feature of the

election was the return of Joseph G. Cannon from the Fifteenth district. His Republican colleagues were Aldrich, Hopkins, Hitt, Henderson, Childs, Wheeler, Post, Marsh, Funk and Smith.

The factor which most greatly affected the general result in Illinois was the defection of many German Republicans in Chicago by reason of the compulsory school law.

The Thirty-eighth general assembly began its sessions January 4, 1893. The senate was composed of 29 Democrats and 22 Republicans. The house was composed of 78 Democrats and 75 Republicans. Clayton E. Crafts was chosen speaker a second time over Edgar C. Hawley, of Kane county. The political events of the session were the congressional apportionment act of June 9, by which the state was divided into twenty-two districts, and the senatorial apportionment of June 15.

John P. Altgeld and the other state officers were inaugurated January 10. Governor Altgeld was born at Selters, Germany, December 1, 1847, and was the first governor of Illinois of foreign birth. He came to America when quite young and first resided in Ohio. He entered the union army at sixteen years of age and after the war removed to Savannah, Missouri. In 1875 he settled in Chicago and became one of the judges of the superior court of Cook county.

The notable features of Governor Altgeld's administration were his pardon of the condemned Chicago anarchists and his protest against President Cleveland's action in sending troops to Chicago during the railroad strike of 1894. The course of the president, however, was vital to the supremacy of federal law over interstate commerce, and was approved by his countrymen. Governor Altgeld's sincerity may not be

questioned, but any extreme assertion of state's rights has always been repudiated by the people of Illinois.

CHAPTER XVII

REVOLUTION OF 1894—MCKINLEY CAMPAIGN OF 1896—
ILLINOIS A PIVOTAL STATE—TANNER ELECTED GOVERNOR—
CULLOM RETURNED TO THE SENATE—WILLIAM E. MASON
ELECTED SENATOR—LYMAN J. GAGE IN MCKINLEY'S
CABINET.

THE absolute supremacy of the Democratic party in Illinois was of short duration. From 1892 to 1894, there occurred throughout the state and nation the greatest revolution in political sentiment ever known in the history of popular elections. Historians have not been able to fully explain this sudden revulsion. Two factors, however, may be briefly noted. The second inauguration of Mr. Cleveland was followed by the severe financial stringency of 1893, which continued until 1897. The Wilson bill, a Democratic tariff for revenue measure, became a law in the summer of 1894, only about two months before the general elections. President Cleveland not only refused to give his signature to the bill, but he severely criticized the temporizing policy by which the leaders in the house yielded to the senate in all its contentions. The president's famous expression, "party perfidy and party dishonor," was not without its moral effect. Whatever the cause or causes, there was no mistaking the fact that the country had quickly revolted against Democratic rule.

The campaign in Illinois opened in 1894 with the Democrats on the defensive. They held their convention in Springfield in June. Bernard J. Claggett was nominated for state

treasurer, and Henry Raab for superintendent of public instruction. Franklin MacVeagh was endorsed as a candidate for United States senator.

The Republicans held their state convention at Springfield, July 25. Henry Wulff was named for treasurer, and Samuel M. Inglis for superintendent.

The People's party named John F. Randolph for treasurer, and Lavina E. Roberts for superintendent. The Prohibition candidates, named by petition, were: For treasurer, Howell J. Puterbaugh; for superintendent, N. T. Edwards.

The principal issue of the campaign was the tariff, as it had been in 1892. The People's party devoted much attention to the silver question and the government ownership of railroads.

Henry Wulff, the Republican candidate for treasurer, had a plurality of 133,427 votes over Claggett; while Inglis had a plurality of 123,592 over Raab. In spite of the Democratic apportionment, the Republicans regained control of both branches of the legislature, and elected the entire delegation to congress, except the members from the Third and Sixteenth districts. Illinois was represented in the Fifty-fourth congress as follows: First district, J. Frank Aldrich; Second, William Lorimer; Third, Lawrence E. McGann; Fourth, Charles W. Woodman; Fifth, George E. White; Sixth, Edward D. Cooke; Seventh, George E. Foss; Eighth, Albert J. Hopkins; Ninth, Robert R. Hitt; Tenth, Philip Sidney Post; Eleventh, Walter Reeves; Twelfth, Joseph G. Cannon; Thirteenth, Vespasian Warner; Fourteenth, Joseph V. Graff; Fifteenth, Benjamin F. Marsh; Sixteenth, Finis E. Downing; Seventeenth, James A. Connolly; Eighteenth, Frederick Remann; Nineteenth, Benson Wood; Twentieth, Orlando Burrell; Twenty-first, Everet J. Murphy; Twenty-second, George W.

Smith. McGann and Downing were Democrats. McGann's seat was contested and given to Hugh R. Belknap, a Republican. Philip Sidney Post died in office and was succeeded by George W. Prince. Downing's seat was contested and given to John I. Rinaker. Thus before the congress expired, Illinois had a solid Republican delegation. Remann died July 14, 1895, and was succeeded by W. F. L. Hadley.

Mr. Cullom's second term as United States senator was about to expire, and he was a candidate for re-election. Having been repeatedly honored by the Republicans of the state, he felt in honor bound to make an active canvass, although he had very little hope of personal success. When it became known that a Republican legislature had been re-elected, opposition to Mr. Cullom developed within his own party. George E. Adams and George R. Davis were aspirants, but only twenty-one votes were cast against Cullom in the Republican caucus. Mr. Cullom's campaign was managed by John R. Tanner, who was then chairman of the state central committee. Joseph Medill, of the Chicago Tribune, aspired to a seat in the senate. He advised with Mr. Tanner and asked him if he thought he could be elected if he could secure the solid support of the Cook county delegation. Tanner replied that Cullom could not be beaten; whereupon Medill gave up the fight. Franklin MacVeagh, whom Cullom defeated, is now secretary of the treasury in the cabinet of a Republican president.

The Republican party had made a good beginning in 1894 in wresting the legislative and executive departments of the government from the control of its foes. It required only another two years for the American people to re-learn the lesson that all the prosperity they had enjoyed had come under the reign of the protective principle; and that all the hard

times suffered by them during the same period had been preceded either by a heavy reduction of duties on imports, or by insufficient protection. Thus the campaign of 1896 was a notable turning point in the political history of the nation.

The rank and file of the Republican party instinctively looked to William McKinley as the most available candidate for president. Influential party leaders in the east, however, were determined to accomplish his defeat, and nominate Speaker Thomas B. Reed. Their policy was to have several states send delegations instructed for their "favorite sons," and thus make a break in the McKinley phalanx.

Illinois was regarded as the pivotal state. Leaders believed that upon its action depended the fate of McKinley. The people were for him, while a majority of the old party leaders wanted a state delegation instructed for Cullom. The senator entered the presidential race in good faith, while Senator Allison was the "favorite son" of Iowa. Mr. Cullom believed at the time that if he could have received the support of Illinois, as Allison had been supported by Iowa, that the McKinley boom would have collapsed, and that either Cullom or Allison would have been nominated. After the smoke of battle had cleared away, Senator Cullom saw that he had been used in the interest of Reed; but he drew some comfort from the fact that no combination could have defeated McKinley.

Mark Hanna may be called the "original McKinley man," so far as the work of organization is concerned. He began his work in Illinois a year before the national convention. There was a group of rising party leaders who were loyal to McKinley, because they believed he was the choice of the people. Mr. Hanna co-operated with these workers. Charles E. Dawes was the recognized leader of the McKinley campaign in Illinois. Mr. Dawes became comptroller of the

currency, and is now president of the Central Trust bank in Chicago. Among Mr. Dawes' associates were W. J. Calhoun, now minister to China; Howard O. Hilton, at present postmaster of Rockford; William L. Diston, then of Quincy, now surveyor-general of Alaska; Charles Page Bryan, now in the diplomatic service, and Charles W. Raymond. This was the situation when the campaign opened early in the spring.

The Republican state convention assembled at Springfield, April 29. State Senator Orville F. Berry was the permanent presiding officer. John R. Tanner, of Clay county, then temporarily residing in Chicago, was nominated for governor on the first ballot. He received 1,081 votes to 185 cast for Congressman A. J. Hopkins, of Kane, and 69 for Dr. John W. Robbins, of Adams.

William A. Northcott, of Bond county, was nominated for lieutenant-governor on the second ballot. Other nominations were: James A. Rose, secretary of state; Henry L. Hertz, treasurer; James McCullough, auditor; Edwin C. Akin, attorney-general.

After these nominations had been made the convention considered the matter of instructing the delegates to the national convention. The oratorical honors were about evenly divided between Charles E. Fuller, who is now representing the Twelfth district in congress, and W. J. Calhoun. Mr. Fuller argued that in view of Mr. Cullom's long and honorable career, and as a matter of state pride, Illinois should instruct for her senior senator. Mr. Calhoun urged the claims of McKinley. The result, however, had been predestined from the first. McKinley received 832 votes, and Cullom, 503. A resolution instructing for McKinley was then adopted by acclamation. In view of the abolition of the "unit rule" in 1880, this action only had the effect of re-affirming

the action of the congressional districts, and McKinley received all but two of the votes of the delegation at St. Louis.

The Democrats, in their state convention held at Peoria, June 23, made the following nominations: Governor, John P. Altgeld; lieutenant-governor, Monroe C. Crawford; secretary of state, Finis E. Downing; auditor, W. F. Beck; treasurer, Edward C. Pace; attorney-general, George S. Trude. The name of Andrew L. Maxwell was subsequently substituted for that of W. F. Beck for auditor.

The Independent Gold Democrats, Prohibitionists, National party and Socialist Labor party also placed full state tickets in the field.

The national Republican convention assembled at St. Louis, June 16. Charles W. Fairbanks was temporary chairman, and John W. Thurston, of Nebraska, was permanent presiding officer. William McKinley was nominated for president on the first ballot. He received 661½ votes; Reed, 84½; Allison, 35½; Morton, 58; Quay, 61½. Garret A. Hobart, of New Jersey, was nominated for vice-president on the first ballot.

The currency plank was objectionable to a minority. Twenty delegates filed a protest and seceded from the convention. Among these were Teller, of Colorado; Dubois, of Idaho; Cannon, of Utah, and Pettigrew, of South Dakota.

The Democrats assembled in national convention in Chicago, July 7. The delegates were hopelessly divided on the currency question, but the "sixteen to one" silver element prevailed and the report of the committee on resolutions embodied that principle. This convention was made memorable by the spectacular appearance of William Jennings Bryan. Although he had served one term in congress he was "to fortune and to fame unknown" when the convention assem-

bled; when that body adjourned he was its nominee for president. It was a remarkable scene, and was without precedent. The "boy orator of the Platte," only thirty-six years of age, electrified the vast assemblage by his famous "cross of gold" speech and literally turned the heads and won the hearts of the delegates. A stampede followed, and Mr. Bryan was nominated on the fifth ballot. Arthur Sewell, of Maine, was nominated for vice-president on the fifth ballot.

The Gold wing of the Democratic party revolted from the action of the Chicago convention, and nominated John M. Palmer, of Illinois, for president. The Silver National party met at St. Louis and endorsed the nominees and platform of the Democrats. The People's party nominated Bryan for president and Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, for vice-president. The Socialist-Labor party and the Prohibitionists also placed tickets in the field.

At the outset the Republicans attempted to make the tariff the sole issue, and in a sense it remained one of the most important. The platform upon which Bryan had been nominated declared for "free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of sixteen to one," and "that the standard silver dollar shall be a full legal tender equally with gold for all debts, public and private." The Republicans were therefore compelled to accept silver as an issue. It was a comparatively new question; the people did not understand it, but they took a lively interest in this campaign of education and correctly settled the fate of silver.

An interesting feature of the campaign in Illinois was a tour of the state by the "flying squadron" made by a special train. The "squadron" comprised all living former governors, Oglesby, Beveridge, Hamilton, Fifer and Cullom. The importance of Illinois in the canvass was emphasized by the fact

that the headquarters of the Republican and Democratic national committees were located in Chicago.

William McKinley was elected president by 271 electoral votes over Bryan, who received 176 votes. Notwithstanding the number of tickets in the field, McKinley's plurality in Illinois was 142,607, the largest ever given any presidential or state ticket up to that time. His majority over all candidates was 123,391. The banner Republican counties were Cook, Kane and Winnebago.

Mr. Tanner's plurality for governor was 113,381. The Republicans not only elected their entire state ticket, but they secured majorities in both branches of the legislature, and eighteen of the twenty-two congressmen. Illinois was represented in the Fifty-fifth congress as follows: First district, James R. Mann; Second, William Lorimer; Third, Hugh R. Belknap; Fourth, Daniel W. Mills; Fifth, George E. White; Sixth, Edward D. Cooke; Seventh, George E. Foss; Eighth, Albert J. Hopkins; Ninth, Robert R. Hitt; Tenth, George W. Prince; Eleventh, Walter Reeves; Twelfth, Joseph G. Cannon; Thirteenth, Vespasian Warner; Fourteenth, Joseph V. Graff; Fifteenth, Benjamin F. Marsh; Sixteenth, William H. Hinrichsen; Seventeenth, James A. Connolly; Eighteenth, Thomas M. Jett; Nineteenth, Andrew J. Hunter; Twentieth, James R. Campbell; Twenty-first, Jehu Baker; Twenty-second, George W. Smith. Messrs. Hinrichsen, Jett, Hunter, and Campbell were Democrats. Edward D. Cooke died in office and was succeeded by Henry Sherman Boutell.

An incident of 1896 was the death of Lyman Trumbull. He died in Chicago June 25. Mr. Trumbull was a grand-nephew of Governor Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut, from whom the name "Brother Jonathan" was derived as an appellation for Americans.

The legislature convened in regular session January 6, 1897. There were 38 Republicans, 12 Democrats and one member of the People's party in the senate. This branch was organized by the election of Hendrick V. Fisher, president pro tempore, and James H. Paddock, secretary. Edward C. Curtis was elected speaker of the house, which consisted of 88 Republicans, 63 Democrats and two members of the People's party.

John R. Tanner was inaugurated governor January 11 with "pomp and circumstance" far surpassing any similar event in the history of the state. Governor Tanner was born in Warwick county, Indiana, April 4, 1844. The family removed to Illinois and John R. grew to manhood on a farm in the vicinity of Carbondale. At the age of nineteen he enlisted in the Ninety-eighth Illinois regiment. His father and three brothers also served their country as soldiers. The father died in a southern prison and is buried in an unknown grave. Governor Tanner's public career began in 1870, when he was elected sheriff of Clay county. From that time his rise was rapid. He became clerk of the circuit court; served four years in the state senate; in 1883 he was appointed United States marshal for the southern district of Illinois; elected state treasurer in 1886; appointed a member of the railroad and warehouse commission in 1891; later served as United States sub-treasurer at Chicago, and in 1894 he was chairman of the Republican state central committee.

The life and service of John R. Tanner have not always been fairly estimated. He was a man of grievous faults; but he had his virtues, too. His convivial habits obtained the mastery over him, and he was thus shorn of much of his native strength. He became the leader of a political machine, which was for a time a source of great influence, but which

resulted in his final undoing. His approval of the famous "Allen bill" undermined public confidence in him, although there is no evidence that he personally profited by his official action. But the ledger must be balanced. John R. Tanner feared no man, and he always had the courage of his convictions. Throughout his public career he displayed executive ability of a high order. He made friends and held them with "hoops of steel." His mausoleum in Springfield, the finest at the capital, with the single exception of the Lincoln monument, is a perpetual witness to the devotion of those who knew him best. Governor Tanner died in Springfield May 23, 1901.

After the organization of the two houses and the inauguration of the state officers, the legislature considered the election of a United States senator to succeed General Palmer, whose term would expire March 4. William E. Mason had been a candidate since 1895, when he was defeated by Senator Cullom. The other candidates were Robert R. Hitt, Martin B. Madden, Clark E. Carr and Albert J. Hopkins. At the formal caucus, held January 19, Mason triumphed over all opposition, was nominated by acclamation, and elected the following day. Former Governor Altgeld was the Democratic nominee.

William E. Mason was born July 7, 1850, in Cattaraugus county, New York. He graduated from Birmingham college, in Iowa. Mr. Mason's residence in Illinois began in 1872, when he engaged in the practice of law in Chicago. In 1878 he was elected a member of the legislature. Four years later he was elected a member of the state senate. In 1886 he was elected member of congress from the Third Chicago district and re-elected in 1888. Mr. Mason is given the credit of doing more than any other member of congress in securing the great Columbian exposition for Chicago. He was the central

figure during the decisive discussion, and the speaker of the house declared Mason made the best speech of five minutes he had ever heard. Mr. Mason enjoys a wide reputation as a campaigner, and as a story-teller he has not been surpassed since the days of Lincoln. He is the author of a book, "John, the Unafraid," which was published anonymously and has had a large sale.

The legislature, at this session, reduced the number of judicial grand divisions of the supreme court from three to one, and all the sessions of the court were required to be held at Springfield in October, December, February, April and June of each year. Since 1847, as provided by the constitution adopted that year, the court had held its sessions "on wheels," convening alternately in Springfield, Mt. Vernon and Ottawa. For the first time since the act of July 1, 1877, a judicial apportionment act was passed, dividing the state into seventeen circuits, outside of Cook county. The judicial elections of 1897 were held under this law.

A special session was convened December 7, 1897. The political event of the session was the passage of a primary election law. The legislature adjourned February 24, 1898.

Illinois was honored in 1897 by President McKinley, who appointed Lyman J. Gage secretary of the treasury. Previous to this time only three citizens of Illinois had held positions in the president's cabinet. O. H. Browning was appointed secretary of the interior in 1866, by President Johnson. John A. Rawlins was chosen secretary of war by President Grant in 1869, and Robert T. Lincoln entered Garfield's cabinet in 1881 as secretary of war. This brief list may be supplemented by E. B. Washburne, who was secretary of state under Grant for ten days; General Schofield, appointed temporarily to the war department; and Judge Gresham, who was given the

state portfolio from Illinois by President Cleveland. Judge Gresham, however, was only domiciled in Illinois, and should be credited to Indiana.

Mr. Gage had achieved a wide reputation as a financier, in the capacity of president of the First National bank of Chicago. He gave a successful administration of the treasury department.

President McKinley had purposed to appoint Colonel Thomas G. Lawler, of Rockford, commissioner of pensions; but Mark Hanna had made a promise to H. Clay Evans, of Kentucky. President McKinley appointed Abraham E. Smith, formerly postmaster of Rockford, consul at Victoria, British Columbia, where he has remained fourteen years.

CHAPTER XVIII

REPEAL OF THE "ALLEN BILL"—JOHN HAY SECRETARY OF
STATE—RICHARD YATES ELECTED GOVERNOR—RE-ELEC-
TION OF MCKINLEY—CULLOM RETURNED TO SENATE—
HOPKINS CHOSEN SENATOR—CANNON SPEAKER OF THE
HOUSE.

THE splendid victories achieved by the Republicans of Illinois in 1894 and 1896 were continued in 1898. The previous year a Republican congress had passed the Dingley tariff act, a protective measure which stimulated trade and manufacturing, and gave the party an extended lease of power. The elections followed closely the termination of the Spanish-American war, which had been successfully prosecuted by President McKinley and a congress which supported him with remarkable unanimity. The American people believed the sword had been drawn in a holy cause and this fact was not without its influence upon the state elections all along the line.

The Republican state convention assembled at Springfield, June 14. Charles A. Works, of Winnebago county, was temporary chairman and H. J. Hamlin, of Shelby county, was permanent presiding officer. Floyd J. Whittemore, of Sangamon county, was nominated for state treasurer by acclamation, and Alfred Bayliss, of La Salle, was named for superintendent of public instruction on the second ballot.

There was a long and spirited fight in the committee on resolutions over the "Allen bill." Judge Carter, of Chicago, led in the attack against this unpopular measure. A majority

of the committee was friendly to Governor Tanner and desired to have the matter ignored in the platform. Judge Carter threatened to present a minority report and continue the fight on the floor of the convention. The question was referred to a sub-committee, which reported the following resolution: "The Republican party will uphold the interests of the people. To that end, if any legislative enactment is in any way injurious to any part of the people of Illinois and proves objectionable, a Republican legislature can be depended upon to correct the same, in the interests of the people." The resolution became a part of the platform.

This action averted the embarrassment to which Governor Tanner would have been subjected had his championship of the act been openly condemned. The platform endorsed the war policy of President McKinley, the administration of Governor Tanner and the course of Senators Cullom and Mason in congress.

The Democratic state convention was held in Springfield, July 12. Willard E. Dunlap, of Jacksonville, was nominated for state treasurer, and Perry O. Stiver, of Freeport, for superintendent of public instruction. The Populists and Prohibitionists also nominated full state tickets.

The campaign was without special incident. The Republicans elected their state ticket, fourteen members of congress and a majority in both branches of the legislature. Whittemore received 448,940 votes over 405,490 for Dunlap, Democrat, for treasurer. Whittemore's plurality over all candidates was 43,450.

Illinois was represented in the Fifty-sixth congress as follows: First district, James R. Mann; Second, William Lorimer; Third, George P. Foster; Fourth, Thomas Cusack; Fifth, Edward T. Noonan; Sixth, Henry S. Boutell; Seventh,

George E. Foss; Eighth, Albert J. Hopkins; Ninth, Robert R. Hitt; Tenth, George W. Prince; Eleventh, Walter Reeves; Twelfth, Joseph G. Cannon; Thirteenth, Vespasian Warner; Fourteenth, Joseph V. Graff; Fifteenth, Benjamin F. Marsh; Sixteenth, William Elza Williams; Seventeenth, Benjamin F. Caldwell; Eighteenth, Thomas M. Jett; Nineteenth, Joseph B. Crowley; Twentieth, James R. Williams; Twenty-first, William A. Rodenberg; Twenty-second, George W. Smith. Messrs. Foster, Cusack, Noonan, W. E. Williams, Caldwell, Jett, Crowley and J. R. Williams were Democrats.

In 1898 President McKinley appointed John Hay secretary of state. He was born in Salem, Indiana, October 8, 1838. Although his earlier and last years were not spent in the state, he was essentially a son of Illinois. Hay read law in the office of Shelby M. Cullom and Milton Hay in Springfield. It was from this office that President Lincoln called him to become one of his private secretaries. President McKinley appointed Mr. Hay ambassador to England in 1897. Upon Mr. Day's retirement from the state department the following year, Mr. Hay was appointed his successor, and continued to act as secretary of state in President Roosevelt's cabinet until his death in 1905. Mr. Cullom says John Hay was the most accomplished diplomat who ever occupied the high position of secretary of state. Mr. Cullom's position as chairman of the senate committee on foreign relations gives significance to this estimate of his friend. Mr. Hay achieved great distinction in carrying to triumphant conclusion his far eastern diplomacy. He also negotiated the Hay-Pauncefote treaty which made it possible to construct the Panama canal; and settled the Alaska boundary dispute with Great Britain. Mr. Hay's great literary achievement was his *Life of Lincoln* which he collaborated with John G. Nicolay.

The legislature convened January 4, 1899. The senate was composed of 34 Republicans, 16 Democrats and one Populist. Walter Warder, of Alexander county, was chosen president pro tempore. In the house there were 81 Republicans, 71 Democrats and one Prohibitionist, Frank S. Regan, of Winnebago. Lawrence Y. Sherman, of McDonough county, was chosen speaker.

The legislature continued in session one hundred and one days. This was the shortest regular session with the single exception of 1875, since the adoption of the constitution in 1870. There was no political legislation. The "Allen bill" was repealed; and although the law had been in force two years, not a single street railway franchise was granted under its provisions.

Two of Illinois' most famous orators passed away in 1899. General Oglesby died at his home in Elkhart, April 24, at the age of nearly seventy-five years. Senator Cullom in his volume of reminiscences says of him: "Governor Oglesby was a remarkable man in many respects. Judged by the standards of Lincoln and Grant, he was not a great man. In some respects he was a man of far more than ordinary ability. He was a wonderfully eloquent speaker and I have heard him on occasions move audiences to a greater extent than almost any orator, aside from the late Robert G. Ingersoll."

Colonel Ingersoll died July 21, only a few days before his sixty-sixth birthday. His later years were not spent in the state; still he may be regarded as an Illinois man.

The gubernatorial contest opened in Illinois with Elbridge Haney, Orrin H. Carter, Walter Reeves and Richard Yates as avowed candidates. The state Republican convention assembled in Peoria, May 8, 1900. Charles G. Dawes was

temporary chairman, and former Governor Fifer was permanent presiding officer.

The several candidates for governor had conducted aggressive campaigns, and the outcome was decidedly uncertain when the convention was called to order. There were 1,537 delegates. Judge Hanecy led on the first ballot with 573½ votes. Carter followed with 359½; Reeves, 331½; Yates 272½. Two ballots followed without a choice. The decisive break came on the fourth ballot, when the Hanecy forces threw their strength to Yates. He received 971 votes and was nominated. Carter's following went to Reeves, who received 566 votes.

W. A. Northcott was nominated for lieutenant-governor; James A. Rose, secretary of state; James S. McCullough, auditor; M. O. Williamson, treasurer; H. J. Hamlin, attorney-general.

Governor Tanner had announced that he would not be a candidate for re-election, but aspired to succeed Cullom in the senate. The principle of the popular election of senators was recognized to the extent that both Cullom and Tanner sought endorsement by the convention. In this rivalry Cullom was an easy winner.

Congressman Hopkins was chairman of the committee on resolutions. The platform declared that every pledge made by the Republican party in 1896 had been fulfilled.

The Democratic state convention was held at Springfield June 27. The following ticket was nominated: For governor, Samuel Alschuler; lieutenant-governor, Elmer E. Terry; secretary of state, James F. O'Donnell; auditor, George B. Parsons; treasurer, M. F. Dunlap; attorney-general, James Todd.

Full state tickets were also nominated by the Prohibitionists, People's party, Socialist-Labor party, Socialist Democrats, United Christian and Union Reform parties. All of these parties nominated national tickets.

President McKinley's renomination in 1900 was a foregone conclusion. The Dingley tariff bill had been endorsed at the elections in 1898, and the president had prosecuted the Spanish-American war to a quick and decisive issue. Moreover, McKinley was probably the most popular president who ever occupied the White House.

The national Republican convention assembled at Philadelphia, June 19. President McKinley was renominated by acclamation. Theodore Roosevelt, then governor of New York, received every vote except his own for vice-president on the first ballot. Roosevelt accepted the honor much against his will, and in little more than a year became president. Senator Platt, of New York, who prevailed upon Roosevelt to go on the ticket, regretted his course to the day of his death. Such is the irony of fate.

The Democratic national convention met at Kansas City, July 4. William Jennings Bryan was renominated for president, and Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, for vice-president.

Imperialism was the dominant issue of the campaign. By the unforeseen fortunes of war, the United States had come into possession of Porto Rico and the Philippines. This fact meant abandonment of the traditional policy of isolation, and assuming the position of a world power. The Democratic party raised the issue of imperialism. Early in the year the following resolution was introduced in congress: "Be it resolved by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America in congress assembled, that the Philippine Islands are territory belonging to the United

States; that it is the intention of the United States to retain them as such, and to establish and maintain such governmental control throughout the archipelago as the situation may demand." Congress adopted this resolution and thus the issue was clearly defined.

The Democrats would have abandoned the silver issue, but Bryan, who was master of the situation, would not allow them to do so. Many gold Democrats voted for McKinley. The tariff was scarcely discussed.

The Republicans elected their entire state ticket in Illinois and a majority in both branches of the legislature. The congressional delegation was evenly divided, eleven Republicans and eleven Democrats. McKinley's vote in the state was 597,985; Bryan's, 503,061; while Rev. H. M. Bannen, of Rockford, who led the Prohibitionist candidates for electors, received 17,626. McKinley's plurality was 94,924, and his majority 64,073.

Richard Yates received 580,199 votes for governor, to 518,966 for Samuel Alschuler, and 15,643 for Barnes. Yates' plurality was 61,073 and his majority 33,570.

Illinois was represented in the Fifty-seventh congress as follows: First district, James R. Mann; Second, John J. Feeley; Third, George P. Foster; Fourth, James McAndrews; Fifth, William F. Mahoney; Sixth, Henry S. Boutell; Seventh, George E. Foss; Eighth, Albert J. Hopkins; Ninth, Robert R. Hitt; Tenth, George W. Prince; Eleventh, Walter Reeves; Twelfth, Joseph G. Cannon; Thirteenth, Vespasian Warner; Fourteenth, Joseph V. Graff; Fifteenth, J. Ross Mickey; Sixteenth, Thomas Jefferson Selby; Seventeenth, Benjamin F. Caldwell; Eighteenth, Thomas M. Jett; Nineteenth, Joseph B. Crowley; Twentieth, James R. Williams; Twenty-first, Frederick J. Kern; Twenty-second, George W.

Smith. Messrs. Mann, Boutell, Foss, Hopkins, Hitt, Prince, Reeves, Cannon, Warner, Graff and Smith were Republicans.

The Forty-second general assembly convened January 9, 1901. The senate was composed of 32 Republicans and 19 Democrats. John J. Brenholdt, of Madison, was elected president pro tempore. In the house there were 81 Republicans and 72 Democrats. Lawrence Y. Sherman was re-elected speaker.

Richard Yates was inaugurated governor of Illinois, January 14. He is a son of Richard Yates, the famous war governor. The Yates family affords the only instance in the history of the state of the chief executive office being filled by father and son. The younger Yates was nominated for governor on the fortieth anniversary of his father's nomination for the same office. He was born in Jacksonville, Illinois, December 12, 1860. He was graduated from Illinois college in 1880, from the law school of the University of Michigan in 1884, and was admitted to the bar the same year. Mr. Yates was city attorney of Jacksonville from 1887 to 1891, and in 1894 he was elected county judge of Morgan county. He was nominated for congressman-at-large in 1892, but was defeated in the general Democratic landslide which swept over the state. In 1897 he was appointed by President McKinley collector of internal revenue for the central Illinois district, which comprised forty counties. Mr. Yates has been active in state politics since 1881. He has a winning personality and is a good campaigner; he is true to his friends, and they are loyal to him in return. Mr. Yates' administration was creditable, but not eventful.

Mr. Cullom's fourth term as a United States senator was about to expire and he was a candidate for re-election. Cullom's endorsement by the state convention did not settle the

contest, which was continued until he was nominated by the legislative caucus. Senator Cullom had obtained a sufficient number of written pledges from members of the legislature to secure his election. This fact, however, was not known to Congressmen Hitt, Cannon and Prince, all of whom were candidates. The most aggressive aspirant was former Governor Tanner. Senator Cullom, in his recent book, charges that Tanner attempted to undo him by means of a secret ballot in the caucus. This alleged plan was a failure. Hitt and Cannon would not unite on Tanner against Cullom. The result was the withdrawal of all other candidates from the race. Senator Cullom's name was the only one presented to the caucus, and he was re-elected. Cullom ventures the opinion that if Tanner had remained loyal to him he would have been renominated governor.

By the act of May 13, 1901, Illinois was divided into twenty-five congressional districts. The first election under this law was held in November, 1902. A new senatorial apportionment was made by the act of May 10.

Six parties nominated state tickets for the off year 1902. These were Republican, Democratic, Prohibitionist, Socialist, Socialist-Labor and People's. At the Republican state convention Fred A. Busse was nominated for state treasurer, and Alfred Bayliss for superintendent of public instruction. The Democrats nominated George Duddleston for treasurer, and Anson L. Bliss for superintendent.

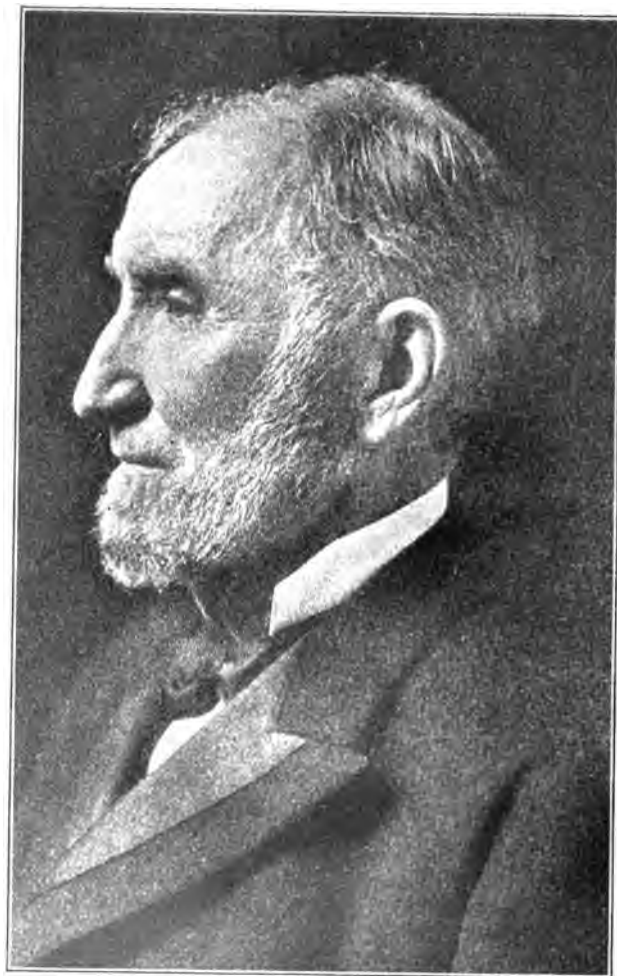
A light vote was polled at the November election, but it resulted in largely increased Republican pluralities over 1900. Busse received 450,695 votes for treasurer; Duddleston, 360,925; Truesburg, Prohibitionist, 18,434. Busse's plurality was 89,770. The vote for superintendent was: Bayliss,

442,505; Bliss, 359,430; Blanchard, Prohibitionist, 18,517. Bayliss' plurality was 83,075.

The Republicans retained control of both branches of the legislature and elected seventeen of the twenty-five congressmen. Illinois was represented in the Fifty-eighth congress as follows: First district, Martin Emerich; Second, James R. Mann; Third, William Warfield Wilson; Fourth, George P. Foster; Fifth, James McAndrews; Sixth, William Lorimer; Seventh, Philip Knopf; Eighth, William F. Mahoney; Ninth, Henry S. Boutell; Tenth, George Edmund Foss; Eleventh, Howard M. Snapp; Twelfth, Charles E. Fuller; Thirteenth, Robert R. Hitt; Fourteenth, Benjamin F. Marsh; Fifteenth, George W. Prince; Sixteenth, Joseph V. Graff; Seventeenth, John A. Sterling; Eighteenth, Joseph G. Cannon; Nineteenth, Vespasian Warner; Twentieth, Henry T. Rainey; Twenty-first, Benjamin F. Caldwell; Twenty-second, William A. Rodenberg; Twenty-third, Joseph B. Crowley; Twenty-fourth, James R. Williams; Twenty-fifth, George W. Smith. Messrs. Emerich, Foster, McAndrews, Mahoney, Rainey, Caldwell, Crowley and Williams were Democrats.

The legislature convened January 7, 1903. There were 36 Republicans and 15 Democrats in the senate. John C. McKenzie, of Jo Daviess, was chosen president pro tempore. The house was composed of 88 Republicans, 62 Democrats, two Public Ownership, and one Prohibitionist.

The political event of the session was the election of Albert J. Hopkins to succeed William E. Mason in the United States senate. Mr. Hopkins was born in DeKalb county, August 15, 1846. He was graduated from Hillsdale college in 1870 and began the practice of law in Aurora, Illinois. Mr. Hopkins was state's attorney of Kane county from 1872 to 1876. He was a candidate for the congressional nomina-



JOSEPH G. CANNON

tion in 1882 in what was then the Fifth district. He was defeated by Reuben Ellwood, of Sycamore. The writer recalls the dejected spirit in which Mr. Hopkins addressed the Elgin convention after the nomination of his rival. Mr. Ellwood was re-elected in 1884, but died the following year. Mr. Hopkins was elected to fill the vacancy, and remained in the house eighteen years, until he was chosen senator. Mr. Hopkins made an honorable record in the senate. He rendered conspicuous service to Chicago in maintaining her right to use water from Lake Michigan for the drainage canal.

It was not until 1903 that Illinois was given the privilege of furnishing the speaker of the lower house of congress. This honor was conferred upon Joseph G. Cannon, who was then representing the Eighteenth district. Mr. Cannon is one of the most unique characters in American public life, the last of the frontier type of statesmen, of which Abraham Lincoln was first. A few years ago Mr. Cannon dictated an autobiography to a Washington correspondent. He told his life story in two sentences: "Cannon was born of God-fearing and man-loving parents. He made himself and did a damn poor job of it."

The historian cannot dismiss Mr. Cannon with such brief mention. He was born in Guilford, North Carolina, May 7, 1836. He came to Illinois when a young man and began the practice of law. He was state's attorney of Vermillion county from 1861 to 1868. He entered congress in 1872 from the Danville district and has continued in that office from that day to this, a period of forty years, with the single exception of one term, when he was defeated in the Democratic landslide of 1890.

Mr. Cannon, when he completes his present term, will have served Illinois and the nation as a member of congress

thirty-eight years. No other man in the history of the government has made such a remarkable record. A few years ago the statement was made that of the twelve thousand congressmen, only thirty-four had served twenty years or more. The longest service was that of John H. Ketcham, of New York, who served thirty-four years.

Mr. Cannon's career as speaker is also without precedent. He has served four consecutive terms in the most influential position under the government, with the single exception of the president. No other speaker has served so many consecutive terms. Henry Clay was speaker ten years, but his service was divided into three periods.

Mr. Cannon possesses splendid ability. He is a strong, courageous man, and like the typical Englishman, he does not know when he is whipped. He has had a stormy career in the speaker's chair, but he has always been masterful and in full control of the situation.

CHAPTER XIX

PROLONGED GUBERNATORIAL DEADLOCK OF 1904—NOMINATION OF DENEEN—STRUGGLE TO SECURE DIRECT PRIMARY ELECTION LAW—DEATH OF CONGRESSMAN HITT—CULLOM RE-ELECTED SENATOR.

THE gubernatorial contest in 1904 was the most memorable and spectacular in the history of the state. It began months before the state convention, and ended in a deadlock which continued thirteen days. Governor Yates had conducted one of his "whirlwind campaigns" throughout the state, and was in the lead when the Republican state convention assembled at Springfield, May 12. His most formidable rivals were Charles S. Deneen and Frank O. Lowden. Howland J. Hamlin, Vespasian Warner, Lawrence Y. Sherman and John Pierce also had a small number of loyal supporters. Speaker Cannon was chosen temporary chairman, and Luman T. Hoy, of Woodstock, was permanent presiding officer.

The first ballot, taken on Friday, May 13, resulted as follows: Yates, 507; Lowden, 354; Deneen, 386; Hamlin, 121; Warner, 45; Sherman, 87.

The balloting continued daily for one week, with no material change in the result. Yates maintained his lead, and the other candidates continued in the same relative position. At this juncture Congressman Fuller tried to cut the Gordian knot by a plan to nominate first the candidates for other state offices and leave the governorship until the close of the convention. The proposition did not meet with favor.

On May 20 the fifty-eighth ballot was taken, with the following result: Yates, 483½; Lowden, 392½; Deneen, 385½; Hamlin, 113; Warner, 53; Sherman, 46; Pierce, 29. With no prospect of a break of the deadlock in sight, the convention adjourned until May 31.

The delegates reassembled in the hope that the recess would afford the candidates an opportunity to effect a compromise and conclude the wearisome business. But it required another four days to accomplish the work they were summoned to perform.

The fifty-ninth ballot was taken on the day the convention reassembled, with the following result: Yates, 487; Lowden, 396½; Deneen, 383½; Hamlin, 116; Warner, 41; Sherman, 50; Pierce, 28.

It was not until June 3 that the deadlock was broken. On that day Governor Yates formally withdrew. He was followed by Hamlin and Sherman, all of whom threw their strength to Deneen, and he was nominated on the seventy-ninth ballot. Deneen received 957½ votes; Lowden, 522½; Warner, 1; Pierce, 1.

The loyalty of the delegates to their respective candidates was remarkable. Yates' ability to hold his friends until he released them, on his own initiative, gave evidence of his forceful personality.

Lawrence Y. Sherman was nominated for lieutenant-governor; James A. Rose, secretary of state; James S. McCullough, auditor; Len Small, treasurer; William H. Stead, attorney-general.

The platform re-affirmed adherence to the gold standard and protective tariff, endorsed the administrations of President Roosevelt and Governor Yates, commended the course of Senators Cullom and Hopkins and the members of congress,

paid a tribute to the diplomatic achievements of Secretary of State John Hay, and urged the delegates to the national convention to use all means to secure the nomination of Congressman Hitt for vice-president.

The Democratic state convention assembled at Springfield, June 15, and nominated the following ticket: Governor, Lawrence B. Stringer; lieutenant-governor, Thomas F. Ferns; secretary of state, Frank E. Dooling; auditor, Reuben E. Spangler; treasurer, Charles B. Thomas; attorney-general, Albert Watson.

The thirteenth national Republican convention assembled in Chicago, June 21, 1904, and continued in session three days. Elihu Root, of New York, was chosen temporary chairman, and delivered a speech of great power on the achievements of the party. Joseph G. Cannon, speaker of the house, was selected permanent chairman.

The nomination of a candidate for president was a mere formality, yet it was performed amid great enthusiasm. There were 994 delegates, and Theodore Roosevelt received 994 votes.

Charles Warren Fairbanks, of Indiana, was nominated for vice-president by a unanimous viva voce vote. Before this action was taken Senator Cullom withdrew the name of Congressman Hitt, of Illinois, in response to instructions received from that gentleman.

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, was chairman of the committee on resolutions. The platform was adopted by a unanimous vote, without discussion.

At the Democratic national convention, held in St. Louis, July 6, Judge Alton B. Parker was nominated for president on the first ballot, and Henry Gassaway Davis, of West Virginia, for vice-president by acclamation.

The Republicans elected their state ticket by tremendous majorities. Roosevelt received 632,645 votes, and Parker, 327,606. The socialist presidential electors polled 69,225 and the Prohibitionists, 34,770. Roosevelt's plurality was 305,039. The vote for governor was as follows: Deneen, 634,029; Stringer, Democrat, 334,880; Patton, Prohibitionist, 35,440; Collins, Socialist, 59,062. Deneen's plurality was 299,149.

The Republicans retained control of both branches of the legislature and elected a solid congressional delegation, with the exception of Henry T. Rainey, in the Twentieth district. Illinois was represented in the Fifty-ninth congress as follows: First district, Martin B. Madden; Second, James R. Mann; Third, William Warfield Wilson; Fourth, Charles S. Wharton; Fifth, Anthony Michalek; Sixth, William Lorimer; Seventh, Philip Nnopf; Eighth, Charles McGavin; Ninth, Henry S. Boutell; Tenth, George Edmund Foss; Eleventh, Howard M. Snapp; Twelfth, Charles E. Fuller; Thirteenth, Robert R. Hitt; Fourteenth, Benjamin F. Marsh; Fifteenth, George W. Prince; Sixteenth, Joseph V. Graff; Seventeenth, John A. Sterling; Eighteenth, Joseph G. Cannon; Nineteenth, William B. McKinley; Twentieth, Henry T. Rainey; Twenty-first, Zeno S. Rives; Twenty-second, William A. Rodenberg; Twenty-third, Frank L. Dickson; Twenty-fourth, Pleasant T. Chapman; Twenty-fifth, George W. Smith. Congressman Hitt died in office and was succeeded by Frank O. Lowden. Benjamin F. Marsh also died during his term of office, and was succeeded by James McKinney.

The legislature convened in regular session January 4, 1905. The house was composed of 91 Republicans, 57 Democrats, three Prohibitionists and two Socialists. Edward D. Shurtleff, of McHenry county, was elected speaker. There

were 42 Republicans and only nine Democrats in the senate. Leon A. Townsend, of Knox county, was elected president pro tempore.

Charles S. Deneen was inaugurated January 9, 1905. All the other state officers took the oath at the same time. Mr. Deneen was born at Edwardsville, Illinois, May 4, 1863. He received his education in the public schools of the state, at McKendree college, Lebanon, and in the Union College of Law, Chicago. He taught school several years in Chicago, until he was established in his profession as a lawyer. At an early age he took an active interest in politics, local, state and national. He represented his ward in the city and county committees of his party for many years, and for ten years was a member of the state central committee. In 1892 he was elected a member of the general assembly from the Second senatorial district in Chicago. In 1895 he was appointed attorney for the Chicago sanitary board. The following year he was elected state's attorney of Cook county; was re-elected in 1900 by a flattering majority and served until he was elected to his present office.

Governor Deneen possesses executive ability of a high order, and has given Illinois two administrations distinguished by many notable achievements. The affairs of the state have been conducted on business principles, as never before. One of his most notable victories was the passage of a civil service law in 1905, which was amended in 1911. It now embraces 4,700 out of a total of 5,500 state employes, or eighty per cent of the entire public service.

Lawrence Y. Sherman, the lieutenant-governor, was born in Miami county, Ohio, November 8, 1858. He was graduated from McKendree college, and after teaching school several years began the practice of law at Macomb, in Mc

Donough county, in 1882. He has served the people as city attorney of Macomb, county judge of McDonough county, and as representative in the general assembly four consecutive terms. He was speaker of the house during the Forty-first and Forty-second general assemblies.

Mr. Sherman is one of the keenest intellects in the public service of Illinois today. He is a commoner of the old school; he has kept in touch with the people, and believes in them, in their sense of justice and the accuracy of their judgment. He is an able debater and a constructive statesman. Mr. Sherman now holds the responsible position of president of the state board of administration.

It is only within recent years that attempts have been made in this state to control primary elections by law. Formerly all nominations of candidates for office were made by voluntary caucuses, or by primary elections held solely under the direction of the committees or managers of the several parties. In theory, no person not affiliated with a party could vote in its caucuses. As a matter of fact, however, such primary elections were often dominated in whole or in part by voters not in actual sympathy with such party. Delegates often found themselves unable to carry out in convention the pledges given the voters at the primaries, by the dictation of party leaders. The abuse became notorious before corrective measures were devised.

Governor Deneen is entitled to great credit for his persistent efforts to secure a primary election law. Each one of the four laws enacted during Deneen's administrations was passed by Republican votes; hence the present statute, which is the outcome of previous experiments, may be regarded as a distincively Republican measure.

The first sentence in Governor Deneen's first inaugural message declared: "Our state needs a compulsory primary election law." Before referring to the several direct primary laws enacted after Deneen became governor, previous legislation on the subject may be briefly reviewed.

The first attempt to regulate the holding of party caucuses was made in 1885. In the city election law of that year, parties were recognized in the selection of the board of election commissioners in Chicago and in the appointment of judges and clerks. A separate law was enacted the same year, which made it unlawful for any one to vote at a primary election or caucus unless he was at the time a qualified voter under the general election laws of the state.

In 1889 an effort was made to regulate the entire procedure of nominating candidates for office; but this law was not compulsory upon political parties. Its use was made optional by the committees. When the Australian ballot system was adopted in 1891, the law for the first time assumed control of many details of elections. It regulated in a general way the nomination of candidates for elective offices. Exceptions were made in the case of certain school officers, and road officers not under township organization.

The first compulsory primary law was enacted in 1898. It directly applied only to Cook county, although it authorized any county, city or incorporated town to adopt it by vote. It was so adopted in some cities and counties. In 1899 a law was passed regulating primary elections; but it applied only to counties having less than 125,000 population, which meant the entire state outside of Cook county. It was to be in force only when adopted by popular vote. It was thus adopted in several counties. In 1901 an act was passed amending the law of 1898 and extending its provisions.

None of these laws were intended to secure a direct vote of a party upon the nomination of its candidates for office. The law's control was applied to the selection of party delegates and their action in conventions.

Agitation for direct primaries began prior to the act of 1901. In 1904 the question whether such a law should be passed was submitted to the people, who voted in favor of such a law. Drafts of laws were prepared, and one was introduced in the legislature in 1905; but it was not adopted, nor was the principle of direct nominations recognized in the primary election law of that year.

The primary law of May 18, 1905, was the first which applied to and was compulsory upon, the entire state. A separate system was created by this law, which applied directly to elections in Cook county. The vote in the general assembly was as follows: House of representatives, for the bill: Republicans, 84; Democrats, 28; against the bill: Democrats, 18; Prohibitionists, 1; Socialists, 1. In the senate, for the bill: Republicans, 40; Democrats, 1; against the bill: Republicans, 1; Democrats, 3.

This law was declared unconstitutional by the supreme court, April 5, 1906, on four essential points, as follows: That it contained provisions by which the legislature attempted to delegate part of its legislative functions to political organizations in that it allowed county managing committees outside of Chicago to decide whether nominations under the law should be by pluralities or majorities; that it required the payment of a fee from the man desiring to be a candidate for the office, thus discriminating between the man who has money to pay and the man who has not; that it made a new qualification necessary for candidates for the state legislature, in the provision that but one candidate might be nominated from



CHARLES S. DENEEN

any one county in a senatorial district, thus setting up a geographical qualification not recognized by the constitution; that it made one set of requirements for one part of the state, and another for another, and that it was in reality two laws in one. No state election was ever held under this law. The supreme court declared the primary act of 1901 to be still in force.

Within six hours after the supreme court had rendered its decision, Governor Deneen issued a call for a special session of the general assembly to convene April 10. Another primary election bill passed the house by a vote of 77 to 61. All the affirmative votes were cast by Republicans, except one, a Prohibitionist. The negative votes were given by 56 Democrats and 5 Republicans. There was no opposition in the senate. The law was approved May 23, and went into effect July 1, 1906. Under this law the primaries of all parties were held on the same day in all parts of the state. Two ballots were used. One contained the names of all candidates for nomination; the other contained the names of the delegates to the convention. The vote on the official ballot served as instructions to the delegations, but they were binding only for one roll call. Primary elections were held under this law in August, 1906. A direct vote was also taken at that time for candidates for a United States senator, to fill the vacancy arising March 4, 1907.

This law was also declared unconstitutional by the supreme court October 2, 1907. Six of the seven justices concurred in the opinion. Justice Carter dissented. The main contention against the law was that it invested county central committees with power to create delegate districts, which is the exclusive function of a duly organized legislative body.

October 8, 1907, Governor Deneen addressed to the general assembly, then in special session, a message urging the enactment of a third primary law. During a legislative recess, Governor Deneen made a personal campaign in fifty-three counties. The legislature enacted a law which was approved February 21, 1908. The primaries of that year were held under this law. June 16, 1909, the supreme court declared this law unconstitutional. A fatal objection to the law was that it invested senatorial committees with power to determine the number of representatives to be nominated in a district.

Governor Deneen was persistent. December 11, 1909, he re-convened the legislature in special session. A fourth direct primary law was passed, which has been upheld by the supreme court. This in brief is the story of the struggle for a compulsory, state-wide primary election law in Illinois.

The campaign of 1906 was anomalous. It marked the passing of the old convention system, which had prevailed since the organization of political parties in Illinois. It was also during this year that the first imperfect experiment was made in direct primary elections.

These primaries were held throughout the state August 4. They included an advisory vote on United States senator. Shelby M. Cullom and Richard Yates were candidates, and the venerable senator proved an easy winner, although Mr. Yates made a vigorous canvass.

The Republican state convention assembled at Springfield August 21. Senator O. F. Berry was temporary chairman, and Speaker Shurtleff permanent presiding officer. The primary law released the delegates from their instructions after the first ballot; so this convention actually nominated the state ticket. John F. Smulski was nominated for state treasurer on the second ballot over Andrew J. Russel. Francis

Blair was nominated for superintendent on the second ballot.

The Democrats, in state convention at Peoria, August 22, nominated Nicholas L. Piotrowski for treasurer, and Caroline Grote for superintendent. The Prohibitionist, Socialist and Socialist-Labor parties also nominated state tickets.

During the campaign the state suffered a great loss in the death of Congressman Hitt. This distinguished statesman died at his summer home in Narragansett Pier, Rhode Island, September 20. Mr. Hitt's congressional career was long and honorable. He was first elected to succeed Robert M. A. Hawk, who died suddenly in 1882, and he was returned at every election until his death, a period of 24 years. Mr. Hitt was a native of Ohio, and came with his parents to Ogle county, Illinois, at an early age. His first public service was as official stenographer for the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Mr. Hitt had a varied diplomatic experience. He was secretary of the United States legation in Paris in 1874. He remained there until 1881, when he became assistant secretary of state. He was chairman of the committee on foreign relations in the Fifty-sixth congress. In 1898 President McKinley appointed him a member of the commission to establish the government of Hawaii on its annexation to the United States. Mr. Hitt was Secretary Blaine's most intimate friend, and there is a tradition that Blaine never decided a diplomatic question without consulting the Illinois congressman.

The November elections resulted in a victory for the Republicans on state, congressional and legislative tickets. Smulski had a plurality of 145,960 over Piotrowski.

Illinois was represented in the Sixtieth congress as follows: First district, Martin B. Madden; Second, James R. Mann; Third, William W. Wilson; Fourth, James T. McDermott; Fifth, Adolph J. Sabath; Sixth, William Lorimer; Seventh,

Philip Knopf; Eighth, Charles McGavin; Ninth, Henry S. Boutell; Tenth, George Edmund Foss; Eleventh, Howard M. Snapp; Twelfth, Charles E. Fuller; Thirteenth, Frank O. Lowden; Fourteenth, James McKinney; Fifteenth, George W. Prince; Sixteenth, Joseph V. Graff; Seventeenth, John A. Sterling; Eighteenth, Joseph G. Cannon; Nineteenth, William B. McKinley; Twentieth, Henry T. Rainey; Twenty-first, Benjamin F. Caldwell; Twenty-second, William A. Rodenberg; Twenty-third, Martin D. Foster; Twenty-fourth, Pleasant T. Chapman; Twenty-fifth, George W. Smith. Messrs. McDermott, Sabath, Rainey, Caldwell and Foster were Democrats. Congressman Smith died in office and was succeeded by N. B. Thistlewood.

The legislature convened January 9, 1907. There were 89 Republicans in the house, 61 Democrats and three Prohibitionists. Edward D. Shurtleff was re-elected speaker. The senate was composed of 44 Republicans and 7 Democrats. Stanton C. Pemberton was chosen president pro tempore.

The political event of the session was the re-election of Shelby M. Cullom United States senator. He was the unanimous choice of the Republican caucus, and received every vote in his party on joint ballot.

CHAPTER XX

CAMPAIGN OF 1908—WILLIAM LORIMER ELECTED SENATOR
—CORRUPTION SCANDAL—MEMBERS OF LEGISLATURE
CONFESS ACCEPTING BRIBES—LORIMER EXPELLED FROM
THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

THE first notable event in the campaign of 1908 in Illinois was the national Republican convention, which assembled in Chicago, June 16. President Roosevelt had repeatedly declared that he would not be a candidate for re-election. In spite of his persistent declarations, he was the first choice of the convention and would have been nominated had he given the slightest encouragement. The president, on the contrary, had chosen William Howard Taft, of Ohio, as his political heir, and such was his influence with his party that his choice was promptly ratified. Mr. Taft was nominated for president on the first ballot. James Schoolcraft Sherman, a member of congress from the Twenty-seventh New York district, was nominated for vice-president. Senator Albert J. Hopkins, of Illinois, was chairman of the committee on resolutions.

The national Democratic convention was held in Denver, July 7. William Jennings Bryan was nominated for president for a third time on the first ballot, and John W. Kern, of Indiana, was named for vice-president. The Prohibitionist, Socialist, Socialist-Labor, Independent, United Christian and People's parties also nominated presidential tickets.

The first primary election in Illinois for the nomination of a full state ticket was held August 8, 1908. It was the

only state-wide primary ever held under this law, which was declared unconstitutional the following year. The candidates for governor were Charles S. Deneen and Richard Yates. There were five aspirants for lieutenant-governor: John G. Oglesby, George Shumway, Thomas D. Knight, Samuel J. Drew and Frank L. Smith. The office of secretary of state was sought by James A. Rose, Fred E. Sterling, John J. Brown, Bert H. McCann and William F. Lynch. The two candidates for auditor were James S. McCullough and J. W. Templeton. Andrew Russel was the only candidate for treasurer, and W. H. Stead for attorney-general. The vote for clerk of the supreme court was divided among seven candidates: Christopher Mamer, J. McCan Davis, Edgar T. Davies, Albert D. Calwalader, James Kinney, George W. Fisher and George R. S. Hoffman.

Mr. Deneen's plurality over Yates for governor was 11,949. John G. Oglesby, a son of the late Governor Richard J. Oglesby, received the highest vote for lieutenant-governor; James A. Rose for secretary of state; James S. McCullough for auditor; Andrew Russel received the full vote of the party for treasurer, and William H. Stead for attorney-general. Albert J. Hopkins received a plurality of the advisory popular vote for United States senator over William E. Mason, George Edmund Foss and W. G. Webster. J. McCan Davis received the highest vote for clerk of the supreme court.

The Democratic primaries resulted in the choice of Adlai E. Stevenson for governor; Elmer A. Perry, lieutenant-governor; X. F. Beidler, secretary of state; Ralph Jeffris, auditor; John B. Mount, treasurer; Ross C. Hall, attorney-general; John L. Pickering, clerk of the supreme court.

The Republican state convention assembled at Springfield, September 9, to nominate four trustees for the University of

Illinois, select presidential electors and adopt a platform. Speaker Cannon presided and made a speech, in which he said this republic was not worth three hurrahs in Hades if it has privileged classes, rich or poor, wise or otherwise.

The platform approved the administrations of President Roosevelt and Governor Deneen, commended Senator Hopkins and approved the plan for lakes-to-the-gulf waterway.

At the November elections the Taft electors received 629,932 votes in Illinois; Bryan, 450,810. Taft's plurality was 179,122. Deneen's plurality over Stevenson for governor was 23,164. Both branches of the legislature were Republican, and the party elected nineteen of the twenty-five congressmen. Illinois was represented in the Sixty-first congress as follows: First district, Martin B. Madden; Second, James R. Mann; Third, William W. Wilson; Fourth, James T. McDermott; Fifth, Adolph J. Sabath; Sixth, William Lorimer; Seventh, Fred Lundin; Eighth, Thomas Gallagher; Ninth, Henry S. Boutell; Tenth, George Edmund Foss; Eleventh, Howard M. Snapp; Twelfth, Charles E. Fuller; Thirteenth, Frank O. Lowden; Fourteenth, James McKinney; Fifteenth, George W. Prince; Sixteenth, Joseph V. Graff; Seventeenth, John A. Sterling; Eighteenth, Joseph G. Cannon; Nineteenth, William B. McKinley; Twentieth, Henry T. Rainey; Twenty-first, James M. Graham; Twenty-second, William A. Rodenberg; Twenty-third, Martin D. Foster; Twenty-fourth, Pleasant T. Chapman; Twenty-fifth, N. B. Thistlewood. Messrs. McDermott, Gallagher, Rainey, Graham, Foster and Sabath were Democrats.

A referendum vote was taken on the proposition to amend the constitution to permit an issue of bonds not to exceed \$20,000,000 for the construction of a deep waterway between Lockport and Utica, and for the equipment and maintenance

of dams, locks, bridges and power plants. The amendment was carried by a vote of 692,822 to 195,177. A proposition to amend the general banking law was adopted by a vote of 473,755 to 108,553.

The legislature convened January 6, 1909. There were 38 Republicans and 11 Democrats in the senate, and 89 Republicans and 64 Democrats in the house. E. D. Shurtleff was a candidate for re-election as speaker, but he had broken with Governor Deneen and could not secure full Republican support. His friends formed a bi-partisan alliance with the Democrats, struck a bargain for committeeships, and Shurtleff was elected.

January 19 the legislature began the task of electing a United States senator. Mr. Hopkins' term would expire March 4. He had been endorsed at the primaries the preceding August, and this fact gave him a moral claim to another term. But he could not command the votes. A deadlock continued until May 26, when William Lorimer was elected senator on the ninety-fifth ballot by a second bi-partisan alliance. He received 108 votes, 55 Republican and 53 Democratic. Mr. Lorimer had represented a Chicago district in congress continuously since 1895, with the exception of two years, from 1891 to 1893. He was the son of a Presbyterian clergyman, and was born in Manchester, England. His father came to America and died a few years later. The son began life as a bootblack and newsboy and later he became a street car conductor.

April 30, 1910, the Chicago Tribune published a confession of Charles A. White, a Democratic representative from the Forty-ninth district, that he had received \$1,000 from Lee O'Neil Browne for his vote for Mr. Lorimer. May 5, H. J. C. Beckemeyer, a Democrat, representing the Forty-

second district, made a similar confession. Two days later, Michael S. Link, a Democratic representative from the Forty-seventh district, also confessed that he had received the same amount. Lee O'Neil Browne resided at Ottawa, and represented the Thirty-ninth district as a Democrat. He was promptly indicted for bribery by the Cook county grand jury. The first trial ended in a disagreement of the jury, and the second trial resulted September 9 in his acquittal. Meanwhile, May 28, 1910, State Senator Holstlaw confessed before the grand jury in Sangamon county that he had received \$2,500 for his vote for Lorimer.

These charges demanded the attention of the United States senate, which has exclusive authority to determine the rights of claimants to their seats. A dramatic incident occurred September 8, when Theodore Roosevelt, who was then at Freeport, Illinois, sent a message to the Hamilton club in Chicago, declining to attend its banquet in the evening if Senator Lorimer was to be a guest of honor. The committee promptly recalled the invitation extended to Senator Lorimer, and Colonel Roosevelt attended the function. The investigating committee, which had been announced in June, began its inquiry September 20, in Chicago, and finished October 8. Senator Burrows, of Michigan, was chairman. December 12 a sub-committee submitted a report which exonerated Mr. Lorimer. His title to his seat was vindicated on the ground that, while there was bribery, there was not sufficient bribery proved to destroy his majority of fourteen votes. A minority of the committee, headed by Senator Beveridge, reported January 9, 1911, that Mr. Lorimer was not legally elected.

February 22 Senator Lorimer made a remarkable speech in the senate. He met the issue squarely and said it was not

a matter of sympathy, but of right or wrong. The speech was a masterpiece of human interest, and several of his colleagues were moved to tears.

March 1, 1911, the senate, by a vote of forty-six to forty, declared that Mr. Lorimer had been duly elected a member of the United States senate. Senator Cullom upheld his colleague's right to his seat.

While the senatorial inquiry was in progress, the people of Illinois were determined to know the truth of the scandal. January 4, 1911, the Illinois state senate appointed a committee, under the leadership of Senator Helm, to investigate charges of corruption in the election of Mr. Lorimer. On the following day D. W. Holstlaw resigned as a member of the senate. The most sensational feature of the Helm inquiry developed April 6, when C. S. Funk testified before the committee that Edward Hines asked the International Harvester Company to contribute \$10,000 toward a fund of \$100,000 that had been spent in electing Lorimer. May 17 the Helm committee unanimously reported its conclusion that Lorimer would not have been elected except by bribery and corruption. On the following day, the senate, by a vote of thirty-nine to ten, declared its belief that Lorimer had been elected by corruption.

The incoming of a new congress, with changes in the senate, made it possible to reopen the inquiry. Senator Lorimer's friends pressed the technical point of "*res adjudicata*." This means that a case, having been adjudicated, is not subject to re-hearing. But the senate would not apply the principle in this case. April 6, Senator La Follette introduced a resolution to reopen the Lorimer case; and June 1 the senate unanimously voted for another investigation, to be conducted by the committee on privileges and elections. This committee,

with Senator Dillingham as chairman, began its inquiry June 20, in Washington, continued it in Chicago in the autumn, and finished the inquiry in Washington February 9, 1912. Two reports were presented. The majority, signed by five members, decided that Senator Lorimer was entitled to his seat. The minority report was signed by three members. Chairman Dillingham's colleagues on the investigating committee were Senators Gamble, Jones, Kenyon, Johnson, Fletcher, Kern and Lee.

The final battle on the floor of the senate was delayed until after the presidential and other primaries had been held in the states. June 4 Senator Kern, of Indiana, opened the fight for Mr. Lorimer's expulsion. The debate continued at intervals until July 13, when the senate, by a vote of fifty-five to twenty-eight, adopted the following resolution: "Resolved, That corrupt methods and practices were employed in the election of William Lorimer to the senate of the United States from the state of Illinois, and that his election, therefore, was invalid." Eight other senators were paired, and two did not vote. Senator Cullom voted to unseat his colleague.

During the agitation of the Lorimer case, which convulsed the country more than two years, Mr. Lorimer's private life was conceded, even by his enemies, to be above reproach. Thus there came to be two facts in the public mind: Lorimer and "Lorimerism." This distinction was admirably made in the final paragraph of Senator Kern's speech. He said: "Mr. President, it is not to William Lorimer, the self-made man, the devoted head of an interesting family, that objection is made. That William Lorimer will have the approval of every man of generous impulses; but the system of which William Lorimer is a part, the

system which undertakes by corrupt methods to thwart the popular will, must be condemned. It is the William Lorimer who represents these methods, who carries them out through the Lee O'Neil Brownes and the Brodericks, that is on trial here, and who must stand or fall, not because of his personal or domestic qualities, but by the record he has made in this senatorial contest and the acts of his accredited agents. We may regard the man with admiration because of good personal qualities; but the vicious system of politics, which stifles patriotic sentiment, belittles popular rights, and corrupts the very fountain-head of American liberty, must receive condemnation at the hands of the American senate."

William Lorimer is the only man who has ever been actually expelled from the United States senate because of an election secured through corruption. On the day that Mr. Lorimer was expelled former Senator Hopkins sent a message to the Chicago Tribune, claiming that he was still the logical candidate of his party for senator. If there was no election of a senator May 26, 1909, there has never been a vacancy, under a strict construction of the law, and Governor Deneen has no power to name a successor. Attorney-general Stead has given an opinion to this effect.

CHAPTER XXI

CAMPAIGN OF 1910—SPECIAL ELECTION SUBMITTING QUESTIONS OF REFERENDUM AND RECALL—STATE-WIDE CIVIL SERVICE LAW AND CORRUPT PRACTICE ACT.

THE primary election law now in force in Illinois provides that primaries for the nomination of officers to be elected in November shall be held on the second Tuesday in April. The law, however, was not approved until March 9, 1910, and it was therefore necessary to make an exception for that year. The primaries were held September 15. Edward E. Mitchell, Republican, was nominated over James W. Templeton, and Francis G. Blair was nominated for superintendent of public instruction. At the Democratic primaries Alphaus K. Hartley was nominated for state treasurer, and Conrad M. Bardwell for superintendent.

Three insurgent candidates for congress were nominated over standpatters. F. H. Gansbergen defeated Henry S. Boutell in the Ninth district, but was defeated in November. Colonel Ira C. Copley, the first man to announce himself as an insurgent candidate, defeated George W. Conn. Congressman Lowden had declined to be a candidate for renomination, and J. C. McKenzie, a Progressive, was nominated in the Thirteenth district.

The Republican state convention for 1910 was held at Springfield, September 23. Mrs. Mary A. Busey, O. W. Hoyt and W. L. Abbott were nominated for trustees of the state university. The platform favored the appointment of a permanent tariff commission, commended the state-wide

civil service law for Illinois, the abrogation of minority representation, simplifying the process of securing commission form of government, favored the initiative and referendum, direct vote for United States senator, and denounced recent legislative scandals. Speeches were made by Governor Deneen, Speaker Cannon and Congressman Prince.

Edward E. Mitchell was elected treasurer over Hartley, Democrat, by a plurality of 60,438. Francis G. Blair was elected superintendent over Bardwell, Democrat, by 59,462 plurality. The Republicans secured a majority in both branches of the legislature and elected fourteen congressmen. Illinois is represented in the present congress by the following: First district, Martin B. Madden; Second, James R. Mann; Third, William W. Wilson; Fourth, James T. McDermott; Fifth, Adolph J. Sabath; Sixth, Edmund J. Stack; Seventh, Frank Buchanan; Eighth, Thomas Gallagher; Ninth, Lynden Evans; Tenth, George Edmund Foss; Eleventh, Ira C. Copley; Twelfth, Charles E. Fuller; Thirteenth, John C. McKenzie; Fourteenth, James McKinney; Fifteenth, George W. Prince; Sixteenth, Claude U. Stone; Seventeenth, John A. Sterling; Eighteenth, Joseph G. Cannon; Nineteenth, William B. McKinley; Twentieth, Henry T. Rainey; Twenty-first, James M. Graham; Twenty-second, William A. Rodenberg; Twenty-third, Martin D. Foster; Twenty-fourth, H. Robert Fowler; Twenty-fifth, N. B. Thistlewood. McDermott, Sabath, Stack, Buchanan, Gallagher, Stone, Rainey, Graham, Foster, Fowler and Evans are Democrats.

A feature of the election was the large plurality of Congressman Fuller in the Twelfth district. He led J. W. Rausch, his Democratic rival, by a plurality of 11,480. This was the largest plurality received by any congressman in Illinois and possibly in the United States. Mr. Fuller enjoys

the distinction of never having been defeated for any office by a vote of the people. He was in the state senate eight years, in the house six years, and judge in the Seventeenth circuit six years. He has been in congress ten years. His public life covers thirty years, practically without a break, besides offices of a local nature. At the primaries in 1912 Mr. Fuller received 21,290 votes. This is the largest vote received by any candidate of any party for congressman.

A special election was held November 8, at which the people voted on the proposition that the legislature should submit an amendment to the state constitution providing for the initiative and referendum; for a state civil service law, and a corrupt practices act limiting the expenditures of a candidate for office. All of these measures were carried by large majorities.

The assembly convened January 4, 1911. Charles Adkins, of Piatt, was chosen speaker.

CHAPTER XXII

CAMPAIGN OF 1912—FIRST PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY—ROOSEVELT WINS—DENEEN RENOMINATED FOR GOVERNOR—SHERMAN DEFEATS CULLOM FOR SENATOR—DEATH OF SECRETARY ROSE—C. J. DOYLE APPOINTED.

THE campaign of 1912 began in the closing months of the preceding year. There were several features which made it one of the most remarkable contests in the history of the state. Some of these may be briefly noted. The April primary was the most successful test of a state-wide law that had been made. Lorimerism was an issue, and the primary was the first opportunity that had been afforded the people for expressing their belief that money had been corruptly used in Mr. Lorimer's election to the United States senate. The presidential primary was an innovation, and proved a popular measure. The personal touch was given by the unusually large number of aspirants for the various state offices.

There were eight candidates for governor on the Republican ticket, four on the Democratic, one on the Prohibitionist and one on the Socialist. The Republican candidates were Charles S. Deneen, Len Small, John E. W. Wayman, Charles F. Hurburgh, John J. Brown, Walter C. Jones, J. McCann Davis, Richard Yates. All these gentlemen, except Mr. Davis, made active personal campaigns of the entire state. Governor Deneen established a precedent in asking for a third consecutive term. He made his fight on his record as governor, and presented a convincing appeal to the conservative voters

of the state. Mr. Jones, a state senator from the Fifth district, conducted his campaign as a progressive, and made able speeches in defense of the five planks of his platform, which were a direct primary law, popular election of United States senators, the initiative, referendum and recall. Len Small opposed the last three measures espoused by Mr. Jones. He was accompanied by Senator Lorimer, who presented arguments against these innovations that commanded a respectful hearing. Mr. Hurburgh, a senator from the Forty-third district, conducted his campaign on the issue of greater economy in state administration.

John G. Oglesby sought renomination for lieutenant-governor and was opposed by Kinnie A. Ostewig. James A. Rose asked a fifth term as secretary of state. His opponent was Chester W. Church. James S. McCullough desired another term as auditor. John K. Ball and George A. Smith were also candidates. There were four candidates for treasurer: Andrew Russel, Louis L. Emmerson, William E. Rothermel and Herman R. Heimberger. The office of attorney-general was sought by William H. Stead, Frank R. Reid and John B. Weaver.

There were four candidates for United States senator: Lawrence Y. Sherman, Shelby M. Cullom, Hugh S. Magill and William Grant Webster. Senator Cullom made no canvass. Mr. Sherman conducted a vigorous campaign and inspired confidence among the people. Mr. Magill represented the Progressive wing of the party and strengthened his reputation as a vigorous speaker.

Under the last congressional apportionment, based on the census of 1910, Illinois is entitled to twenty-seven congressmen. The legislature failed to make a re-apportionment, and

the state will therefore elect two congressmen from the state at large. There were ten candidates.

The spectacular feature of the closing days of the campaign was Theodore Roosevelt's tour through the state. Illinois was regarded as a pivotal state, whose action would determine that of other states. Colonel Roosevelt was the choice of the people, but there can be no doubt that he greatly added to his plurality by his brief visit on the eve of election, which in turn had its moral effect upon other sections of the country.

March 25 Governor Deneen called the legislature in special session to pass a presidential preferential primary act. The senate promptly passed a bill, which on March 30 was accepted without change by the house by a unanimous vote, and was immediately approved by the governor. Illinois was the eighth state to pass a presidential primary law. Oregon was the first and was followed by New Jersey, Wisconsin, Nebraska, California, North Dakota and Massachusetts.

The primary election was held April 9. Theodore Roosevelt carried the state for president by a large plurality over President Taft and Robert M. La Follette. Roosevelt carried ninety-seven counties and received 266,917 votes. Taft carried five counties and received 127,481. Roosevelt's plurality was 139,436. La Follette received 42,692 votes.

Governor Deneen carried fifty-four counties, and his vote was 152,997. He had a plurality over Len Small of 64,168. Wayman was third in the race, and Yates fourth.

Lawrence Y. Sherman received 178,063 votes for United States senator. He carried sixty-four counties. This gave him a plurality of 48,688 over Senator Cullom, who carried thirty-two counties.

James A. Rose carried every county in the state for secretary of state. John G. Oglesby was nominated lieutenant-governor; James S. McCullough, auditor; Andrew Russel, treasurer; W. H. Stead, attorney-general.

William E. Mason and B. M. Chipfield were nominated congressmen-at-large. Mason carried ninety-seven counties, and Chipfield seventy-nine. Other congressmen in the order of their districts were nominated, as follows: M. B. Madden, James R. Mann, W. W. Wilson, C. J. Tomkiewicz, J. Gartenstein, Arthur W. Fulton, Niels Juul, W. G. Hermann, Fred A. Britten, George E. Foss, Ira C. Copley, Charles E. Fuller, J. C. McKenzie, Charles J. Searle, G. W. Prince, F. H. Smith, J. A. Sterling, Joseph G. Cannon, W. B. McKinley, no candidate in Twentieth district, H. Clay Wilson, W. A. Rodenberg, R. B. Clark, J. B. Blackman, N. B. Thistlewood. Congressman Prince, if he finishes another term, will have served twenty years. Members of the state central committee were elected as follows: Chauncey Dewey, Roy O. West, Charles W. Vail, Thomas J. Healy, Max Levitan, George E. Nye, Kai P. Hammer, John F. Devine, Francis A. Becker, Henry D. Capitian, Richard J. Barr, Charles E. Hook, Delos W. Baxter, Walter A. Rosenfield, Charles H. Williamson, Garrett De F. Kinney, Frank L. Smith, John H. Harrison, Charles G. Eckhart, Homer J. Tice, Lewis H. Miner, W. C. Hadley, Alfred H. Jones, W. S. Phillips, James A. White. Roy O. West was chosen chairman, and is also serving as a member of the national committee for Illinois. C. J. Doyle, at this writing, is secretary of the state committee. Mr. Dewey tendered his resignation as a member after the Chicago convention.

An incident of the primaries is the retirement of Shelby M. Cullom from the United States senate after a service of

thirty consecutive years. This is twelve years longer than the time served by his nearest Illinois rival, Lyman Trumbull. Scarcely a half dozen men in the history of the government have had such a career in the senate. Mr. Cullom was first elected in 1883 to succeed David Davis.

Mr. Cullom's senatorial career is only one of his achievements as an office-holder. He has served eight years in the lower house of the Illinois legislature, being elected in 1856, 1860, 1872 and 1874. From 1865 to 1871, six years, he represented the Eighth Illinois district in congress, and from 1877 to 1883 he was governor of the state.

This is a total of an even half century of public life. But this is not all. He has been city attorney of Springfield. He was speaker of the Illinois house four years, from 1861 to 1863, and from 1873 to 1875. He was a Fillmore presidential elector in 1856; chairman of the Illinois delegation at the national Republican convention in 1872 and nominated General Grant for president; was a delegate to the national convention in 1884; and a member of a commission appointed by President McKinley to prepare a system of government for the Hawaiian islands. Mr. Cullom cannot say from the heart that republics are ungrateful.

This remarkable career is admirably summarized by Colonel Clark E. Carr in his "Illini" as follows: "He entered public life when Lincoln and Douglas were at the zenith of their fame and has served contemporaneously with Yates, Trumbull, Palmer, Logan, Oglesby, Davis and other distinguished Illinoisans. He is a plain, practical, sincere, earnest man, and while his friends can point to nothing brilliant in his utterances, neither malice nor envy can find anything foolish or frivolous upon the innumerable pages of the Congressional Record where his speeches are printed. Scarcely



SHELBY M. CULLOM

any man in congress is so richly endowed with the genius of common sense. Senator Cullom is not so brilliant as was Yates; he is not so logical and incisive as was Trumbull; he is not so aggressive as was Logan; he has none of the magnetic power of Oglesby; Davis, Browning and Palmer all excelled him as lawyers; yet still it may be doubted whether, outside the military service, and always excepting Lincoln and Douglas, any other Illinoisan has accomplished more for his state and country."

The Democratic primaries resulted in the nomination of Edward F. Dunne for governor. The Prohibitionists nominated Edwin R. Worrell, and the Socialists, John C. Kennedy.

The Republican state convention met at Springfield, April 19. It was one of the shortest on record, and, in view of the long and spirited campaign, it was one of general good feeling. Party chiefs buried the hatchet and smoked the pipe of peace. Presidential electors were chosen as follows: George Postel, Solon W. Crowell, George W. Dixon, Axel Chytraus, William Chalmers Covert, James Rosenthal, Harry B. Staver, Edward R. Litzinger, Isaac Shapiro, Ninian H. Welch, Irwin R. Hazen, John F. Haas, John R. Philip, Benjamin H. Miller, William Grote, Samuel D. Holderman, Delos W. Baxter, John Y. Whiteman, John C. Work, William J. Conzelman, John Y. Chisholm, Thomas G. Vennum, Charles D. Thomas, Theodore S. Chapman, Frank R. Milnor, Louis F. Lumaghi, John J. Brown, Noah C. Bainum, George E. Martin. Messrs. Covert, Counselman, Chisholm and Thomas resigned, and their places were filled by the state central committee.

The platform endorsed the administration of President Taft, eulogized at length the achievements of Theodore

Roosevelt, and instructed the delegates-at-large to vote for his nomination. The state administration was endorsed, demands were made for changes in the primary law, and jackpot methods were condemned.

Early in 1912 President Taft appointed Miss Julia C. Lathrop, of Rockford, to the newly created office of chief of the children's bureau at Washington. Miss Lathrop is the first woman to be appointed head of a government department. She is a daughter of the late William Lathrop, who represented the Rockford district in congress from 1877 to 1879. Miss Lathrop has served several years as a member of the state board of charities, and has been associated with Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House.

James A. Rose, secretary of state of Illinois since 1897, died suddenly in Springfield, May 29. Death followed hemorrhage of the stomach, with which the secretary had been attacked the previous evening. The funeral was held May 31 at Golconda, Pope county, the former home of Mr. Rose. Services were held in the First Presbyterian church, of which the secretary had been an elder. The obsequies were attended by Governor Deneen, other state officers, members of the general assembly and detachments of the national guard.

Mr. Rose was born in Golconda, October 13, 1850. He was elected superintendent of schools of Pope county in 1873, and state's attorney in 1881. During Governor Fifer's administration he was trustee of the reformatory at Pontiac and commissioner of the penitentiary at Chester. He was elected secretary of state in 1896, and re-elected in 1900, 1904 and 1908. He had thus served more than fifteen years, the longest term of service in the history of the state. Mr. Rose began in 1903 the biennial publication of the "Blue Book," an invaluable manual of information concerning the political

history of the state. Illinois lost a capable public servant of the old school in the death of Mr. Rose.

The importance of the secretary's office required that a successor to Mr. Rose be chosen without delay. June 1 Governor Deneen appointed Cornelius J. Doyle to fill the unexpired term. The same day Mr. Doyle was selected as the candidate for the office by the state central committee.

Mr. Doyle's rise has been rapid. He was born in Carlinville, Illinois, December 6, 1871. His first office was that of parole agent for the Chester penitentiary, to which he was appointed by Governor Yates. He was subsequently appointed secretary of the state board of arbitration by the same executive, and held the office during Governor Deneen's first term. He resigned this office to become general attorney for the state insurance department. His next office was that of state fire marshal, to which he was appointed by Governor Deneen. Mr. Doyle is a lawyer of ability. He was one of the attorneys for Caleb Powers, and argued the petition before Governor Willson, of Kentucky, which resulted in his pardon.

Chester W. Church, a member of the house from the Eleventh district in Chicago, who had been a candidate for secretary of state at the primaries in April, attempted to have his name placed on the Republican ticket. He introduced a bill providing that in the event the high man dies or becomes ineligible between the time for closing nominating petitions and the time the official vote is canvassed, the second man in the race shall be declared the nominee. Mr. Church was the only contestant against Mr. Rose at the primaries, and his bill would therefore apply to his own case. The bill was laid on the table by a ruling of Speaker Adkins. Mr. Church also attempted to secure a writ of mandamus to compel the state board of canvassers to certify his name to the secretary

of state as the Republican candidate. He contended that in view of Mr. Rose's death, his own name should be certified. The supreme court held that the duties of the canvassers are purely ministerial, and that they cannot inquire whether any of the candidates have died since the primary election was held.

CHAPTER XXIII

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION AT CHICAGO—RENOMINATION OF TAFT AND SHERMAN—PROGRESSIVES BOLT AND NOMINATE ROOSEVELT AND MARSHALL—A FINAL WORD.

THE fifteenth national Republican convention assembled in Chicago, June 18, 1912. There were 1,078 delegates. Illinois was represented by fifty-eight delegates, as follows: From the state at large, Charles S. Deneen, Roy O. West, B. A. Eckhart, Chauncey Dewey, L. Y. Sherman, Robert D. Clark, L. L. Emerson, W. A. Rosenfield; from the twenty-five congressional districts, Francis P. Brady, M. B. Madden, John J. Hanberg, Isaac N. Powell, William H. Weber, Charles W. Vail, Thomas J. Healy, Albert C. Heiser, Charles J. Happel, William J. Cooke, Homer K. Galpin, Allen S. Ray, Abel Davis, D. A. Campbell, John F. Devine, Isadore H. Hines, Fred W. Upham, R. R. McCormick, James Pease, John E. Wilder, Ira C. Copley, John Lambert, Fred E. Sterling, H. W. Johnson, James A. Cowley, J. T. William, Frank G. Allen, William J. Graham, Harry E. Brown, Clarence E. Snively, Edward N. Woodruff, Cairo A. Trimble, G. J. Johnson, Frank B. Stitt, John L. Hamilton, Len Small, W. L. Shellabarger, Elim J. Hawbaker, J. A. Glenn, W. W. Watson, Logan Hay, William H. Provine, Edward E. Miller, Henry J. Schmidt, William F. Bundy, Aden Knoph, Randolph Smith, James B. Barker, P. H. Eisenmayer, Walter Wood. These delegates, with the exception of Happel and Cooke, in

the Fifth district, were instructed for Colonel Roosevelt. June 1 the Illinois delegates were the guests of Colonel Roosevelt at his home at Oyster Bay. He had invited them to visit him and discuss his candidacy before the convention at Chicago.

The convention was held in the Coliseum. The details of that stormy and epoch-making assemblage belong to the political history of the nation. In so far, however, as Illinois had a part in the convention, the record has a place in this volume. The preliminary contest was before the national committee. There were 252 delegates whose seats were contested. Of this number, 238 Taft delegates were seated, while Roosevelt was given fourteen. Among those whose seats were contested were seventy-four delegates-at-large from the fourteen states of Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Texas, Virginia and Washington.

The next contest was over the temporary chairman. In the presence of nearly twelve thousand persons, constituting the most distinguished assemblage ever in attendance at a national convention, the oratorical battle over the temporary organization was fought. The stormy petrels of the party were there. James Watson, of Indiana, nominated Elihu Root, of New York, for temporary chairman. Governor McGovern, of Wisconsin, was the Progressive candidate. He was nominated by Henry J. Cochems, of Wisconsin. This nomination was repudiated by the friends of Mr. La Follette, and the vote of Wisconsin was divided. Seven Illinois delegates voted for Mr. Root, as follows: Robert D. Clark, of Peoria; Dan Campbell, Chicago; Fred W. Upham, Chicago; Harry E. Brown, Geneseo; C. E. Snively, Canton; Len Small, Kankakee; Edward E. Miller, East St. Louis.

Mr. Root was elected chairman. He received 558 votes; McGovern, 502; scattering, 18.

The seating of contested delegates was next in order. Colonel Roosevelt contended that contested and provisionally seated delegates ought not to vote on any question before the convention, and least of all on one another's cases. The ruling of the chair was that contested delegates might vote on all cases except their own. "The principle," said Mr. Root, "that no man should sit as a judge in his own case does not disqualify any delegate on the temporary roll of the convention from voting on another man's right to a seat or from participating in any other regular business of the convention." Senator Root quoted precedents not only of national conventions, but of congress in support of his position, and argued, moreover, that the Roosevelt theory would enable minorities to capture conventions by contesting as many seats as might suit their purpose. Indeed, conventions could be tied up and prevented from transacting any business whatever by means of flimsy and insincere contests.

It is plain to the fair-minded bystander that neither contention is free from fallacy, weakness and practical danger. This, as Senator Borah has said, proves the need of vital changes in the organization and government of parties. It may, as he suggests, be found necessary and expedient to give the states "home rule" in the matter and set up some high local authority to pass on contests and give delegates their credentials.

After six hours of intense conflict, the session closed with the friends of Mr. Taft in control of the temporary organization. Saturday evening, June 23, William H. Taft was renominated for president on the first ballot. He received 561 votes; Roosevelt, 107; La Follette, 41; Cummins, 17. More

than three hundred delegates refused to vote. These were the supporters of Colonel Roosevelt. The vote of the Illinois delegation was as follows: Taft, 2; Roosevelt, 53; not voting, 2; absent, 1. Mr. Roosevelt insisted that the Illinois delegation should not vote on the decisive ballot, but they had previously decided in caucus that they would not bolt.

James Schoolcraft Sherman was renominated for vice-president.

Scarcely had the cheers which greeted the renomination of President Taft died away in the Coliseum, when the friends of Mr. Roosevelt met in Orchestra hall and nominated him for president. A provisional campaign committee was appointed. July 7 Senator Joseph W. Dixon, of Montana, Colonel Roosevelt's campaign manager, issued a call for a national Progressive convention.. The call was signed in behalf of Illinois by Medill McCormick, Chauncey Dewey and LaVerne W. Noyes.

The convention was held in Chicago, August 5. Theodore Roosevelt was nominated for president, and Hiram W. Johnson, governor of California, for vice-president. Colonel Roosevelt coined the only battle cry of the campaign thus far. In his speech at Chicago, while the first convention was in progress, he said: "We are at Armageddon, and the battle is the Lord's." The phrase is suggested by a passage in the Apocalypse of St. John, which refers to the final conflict of world forces.

Previous to the assembling of the Progressive convention Colonel Roosevelt had assumed a dictatorial attitude toward Governor Deneen, and demanded that he should give a pledge of support to the Progressive ticket. Governor Deneen had discharged his obligation to Roosevelt at the first convention,

and refused to break away from the party which had nominated him for governor.

A call was issued for a state Progressive convention to be held at Chicago, August 3. The following ticket was nominated: Governor, Frank H. Funk; lieutenant-governor, Dean Franklin; attorney-general, Fletcher Dobbins; secretary of state, E. O. Peterson; treasurer, Philip Decker; auditor, Edward Winter.

On July 2, at the national Democratic convention, which had assembled at Baltimore, Woodrow Wilson, governor of New Jersey, was nominated for president on the forty-sixth ballot. Thomas R. Marshall, governor of Indiana, was nominated for vice-president.

Mr. Roosevelt's platform may be expressed in the words of the old French monarch, "I am the state." His declaration of principles, so far as Illinois is concerned, has no significance. The present state administration is fully committed to progressive measures, in theory and in fact. Evidence of this truth is shown in Governor Deneen's calling the legislature in special session to pass a presidential primary law, by which it was made possible for Colonel Roosevelt to appeal to the people in this state. Certain planks in Roosevelt's platform will not commend themselves to the sober second thought of the American people. Among these is the proposed recall of the judiciary. The legal profession of the country owes a debt of gratitude to President Taft for his uncompromising attitude against this dangerous experiment. The independence of the judiciary is fundamental. The corrupt judge may be impeached under existing law.

The Republican party is progressive. From the beginning it has stood for the highest ideals in representative government. Its leaders have been constructive statesmen who incarnated

these ideals in institutions and laws. So continuously has the party been in power that the story of its achievements constitutes the political history of the state and nation for more than half a century. There are in nature centripetal and centrifugal forces, which proceed toward or fly from a given center. The Republican party supplies an analogy, and the evolution of its principles has resulted in the anomalous fact of both the centralization and the distribution of power.

The old Federal party was founded upon the political philosophy of Alexander Hamilton, the greatest statesman of his day. The Republican party, as its legitimate successor, has upheld the principle of centralized power strong enough to maintain its efficiency and integrity against every domestic or foreign foe. The doctrine of Jefferson, who represented the other pole of political thought, as opposed to Hamilton, has had its day. The present demand is not more rights for the single state, but a larger opportunity for the individual.

The Republican party was baptised in the spirit of freedom. It was the crystalization of public sentiment against the nationalization of slavery which in 1854 seemed all but consummated. In 1861, when the conflict between two civilizations reached its crisis, it was the Republican party, assisted by many loyal Democrats, that preserved the integrity of the union. After the civil war, it grappled with the gigantic problem of reconstruction, by which the seceding states could resume their former status in the union. The Republican party has given the country the best currency system known to the world; it has established the revenues of the nation upon the basis of a protective tariff. When the fortunes of war resulted in the acquisition of colonial possessions, the party was called to meet a new situation. Under the leadership of President McKinley, a colonial policy was inaugurated.

America had become too great to continue her isolation, for the time had come for her to take her place as a recognized world power.

High civic virtues are developed in the times that try men's souls. They are the product of the whirlwind and the storm. These occasions are usually followed by periods of moral declension, when party leaders seem to lose sight of the original ideals, and engage in politics merely for the spoils of office. The Republican party has been no exception to this rule. There has been more than one campaign in which there was no clearly defined issue, in which abusive personalities held high carnival, and in which party spirit was seen at its worst. But amidst all the strife there was manifestly at work a "power not in ourselves that makes for righteousness." An observer with no prophetic sense might be in camp or on a battlefield and see only guns, swords and bayonets, soldiers on guard or dying in the trenches. But when Julia Ward Howe visited the Army of the Potomac, there came to her a spiritual vision as real as that which assured the prophet of Israel at Dotham that the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha. On that night the inspired author of the Battle Hymn of the Republic saw more than the terrible swift sword and the burnished rows of steel, and she exclaimed in rapture, "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord!" Thus, amid all the tumult of the hour, men, parties and nations may sometimes build wiser than they know.

The Republican party cannot live upon the achievements of the past. Mere momentum soon becomes a spent force. "New occasions teach new duties." The problems of today and of the immediate future are not political, but economic and industrial. The party must meet them. This is an age of individualism, and the common man must have his day in

court. In the ultimate analysis, however, the common man, in the rank and file of his party, must work out his own salvation. It is not the function of government to furnish him bread, but to give him a fair chance, a "square deal." The citizen must not eliminate the moral element from the account. Washington, in his farewell address, says religion and morality are indispensable supports of political prosperity; and that "in proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened." A nation is composed of units, and the admonition of Washington applies to the unit, the individual man. Thus the church and the school house, the preacher and the teacher, will fill a larger place than ever before in the new social order.

America is the "melting pot" of the nations. To her shores are coming from the old world all sorts and conditions of men, whose faces tell of toil and sorrow, to be fused into a new Americanism. Zangwell, in the closing words of his great drama, gives a glimpse of the crucible in its purifying work: "Yes, east and west, north and south, the palm and the pine, the pole and the equator, the crescent and the cross—how the great Alchemist melts and fuses them in his purging flame! Here shall they all unite to build the republic of man and the kingdom of God. Ah, Vera, what is the glory of Rome and Jerusalem, where all nations come to worship and look back, compared with the glory of America, where all races and nations come to labor and look forward!" This modern Hebrew dramatist has outlined the duty and the privilege of the party of Abraham Lincoln: to make this a government of, by and for the people in fact as well as in theory, so that its humblest citizen may say, in all honesty and pride, Above us there is nothing but the nation; above the nation there is nothing but God.

Errata

Page 77 the name "Emory Storrs" should read "Emery A. Storrs."

Page 92 the date of the Republican state convention should read "May 25, 1864."

Page 101 the name "Jesse L. Phillips" should read "Jesse J. Phillips."

Page 107 the date of the Republican state convention should read "September 1, 1870."

Page 108 the name "Charles Ridgley" should read "Charles Ridgely."

Page 109 the name "William R. Snyder" should be "William H. Snyder."

Page 126 the name "H. L. Baker" should read "Henry S. Baker."

Page 123 the name "Scot Wike" should read "Scott Wike."

Page 170 the name "Isaac N. Pierson" should be spelled "Isaac N. Pearson."

Index of Names

Names which appear only as Presidential Electors, Delegates to National Conventions, or members of the State Central Committee for 1912 are not indexed individually; but are given in the lists of Electors, Delegates and Committeemen for the respective years.

Abbott, W. L.	219	Belknap, Hugh R.	177, 182
Adair, A. M.	140	Belknap, Secretary	124
Adams, Charles Francis	12	Bell, Andrew J.	164
Adams, George E., 148, 149, 155, 161, 165, 177.		Bell, John	80
Adams, John Quincy	116	Belmont, New York Elector, 128	
Addams, Jane	228	Bergren, August W.	161
Adkins, Charles	221, 229	Berry, Orville F.	179, 208
Akers, Rev. Peter	26	Beveridge, A. J.	215
Akin, Edwin C.	179	Beveridge, James H.	92
Aldrich, J. F., 172, 173, 176, 180		Beveridge, General John L., 109, 114, 120, 125, 137, 181.	
Aldrich, William, 129, 133, 142		Bidwell, John	171
Alger, Russell A.	164	Birney, James G.	7, 9, 12
Allen, G. T.	28	Bissell, William H., 32, 33, 34, 71, 82.	
Allen, James C., 27, 77, 89, 93, 113.		Black, General John C., 92, 99, 113, 134, 170, 172.	
Allen, J. M.	122	Blackburn, Henry S.	78
Allen, William J.	89, 99	Blackman, J. B.	225
Allison, William B., 164, 178, 180		Blain, James G., 47, 53, 79, 83, 106, 125, 126, 127, 135, 186, 187, 141, 153, 154, 171, 209.	
Alschuler, Samuel	191, 193	Blair, Francis G., 209, 219, 220	
Altgeld, John P., 170, 172, 173, 180, 184.		Blair, F. P.	104
Amberg, Franz	168	Blaisdell, E. W.	30
Anderson, G. A.	161	Blanchard, Charles A.	196
Anderson, William B., 108, 123		Bliss, Anson L.	195, 196
Andrews, Francis	171	Blood, Frederick G.	171
Anthony, Elliott	88	Borah, Senator	223
Arnold, Isaac N.	80, 81, 89	Boutell, Henry S., 182, 183, 193, 194, 196, 202, 210, 218, 219.	
Arntzen, Bernard	78	Bovay, Alvin E.	19
Arthur, Chester A.	141, 153	Boyd, Thomas A.	129, 133
Ashmun, George	79	Brand, Rudolph	154
Aspern, Henry T.	126	Braucher, Daniel L.	160, 161
Ashton, Andrew	130, 131	Breckenridge, John C.	36, 80
Atkins, Smith D.	80	Brenholdt, John J.	194
Austin, Henry W.	160, 161	Brentano, Lorenz, 93, 102, 129	
Babcock, A. C.	74	Bridges, Frank M.	157
Bagby, John C.	123	Bristow, Benjamin H.	127
Baker, Henry S., 28, 33, 93, 126, 126.		Britten, Fred A.	225
Baker, Jehu	95, 100, 161, 182	Broderick, Senator	218
Baldwin, H. E.	153	Bromwell, H. P. H., 76, 95, 99, 100.	
Ball, John K.	223	Brooks, John P.	89, 93
Bannen, Rev. H. M.	193	Brooks, Preston S., 42, 116, 117	
Barber, Hiram	133	Broos, William	92, 97, 113
Bardwell, Conrad M.	219, 220	Brown, B. Gratz	112, 113
Barlow, New York Elector, 128		Brown, Elizabeth	148
Barnes, V. V.	193	Brown, John J.	212, 222
Barrett, Nathan M.	171	Brown, Harry E.	232
Barriere, Granville	117	Browne, Lee O'Neil, 214, 215, 218.	
Bateman, Newton, 44, 70, 75, 89, 92, 99, 107, 113.		Browning, O. H., 32, 34, 75, 78, 86, 87, 90, 185, 227.	
Bates, Edward	78, 79	Bryan, Charles Page	179
Bates, Erastus	102, 107, 132	Bryan, William J., 180, 181, 182, 192, 193, 211, 213, 241.	
Baylis, Alfred	187, 195, 196	Bryant, John H.	33
Beardley, J. M.	137	Buchanan, Frank	220
Beck, W. F.	180		
Becker, Charles	163		
Beckmeyer, H. J. C.	214		
Beldier, X. F.	212		

- Buchanan, James, 36, 38, 42, 43, 44, 45, 52, 65, 66, 163.
 Buckmaster, Samuel A. 90
 Budlong, John 160, 161
 Bunn, John 74
 Burchard, Dr. 153
 Burchard, H. C., 106, 108, 117, 123, 129, 162.
 Burr, Albert G. 100, 104
 Burrell, Orlando 176
 Burrows, Senator 215
 Busey, Mrs. Mary A. 219
 Busey, Samuel T. 169
 Bushnell, Washington, 33, 93, 102.
 Busse, Fred A. 195
 Butler, Benjamin F. 153, 154
 Butler, William 74, 75, 89
 Butterworth, Thomas 140

 Cable, Ben T. 169
 Caldwell, Benjamin F., 189, 193, 196, 210.
 Calhoun, John 76
 Calhoun, John C. 8, 9, 10
 Calhoun, William F. 161, 163
 Calhoun, W. J. 149, 179
 Calwalader, A. D. 212
 Cameron, J. Donald 135, 146
 Cameron, Simon 78, 79
 Campbell, Alexander 123
 Campbell, Dan 232
 Campbell, G. H. 77
 Campbell, James R. 182
 Campbell, William J., 139, 147, 150, 155.
 Cannon, Congressman, Utah, 180
 Cannon, Joseph G., 80, 117, 118, 123, 129, 133, 142, 149, 155, 161, 162, 165, 169, 172, 173, 176, 182, 189, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 201, 202, 210, 213, 220, 225.
 Carlin, Walter E. 152
 Carr, Clark E., 81, 93, 94, 95, 107, 139, 151, 162, 163, 184, 226.
 Carroll, Charles 122
 Carter, Judge O. H., 187, 188, 190, 191, 207.
 Carter, Ohio Delegate 79
 Cary, Samuel F. 128
 Casey, Newton R. 121
 Casey, Samuel K. 35
 Cass, Lewis 12, 47, 65
 Caulfield, B. G. 123
 Chambers, El. J. 141
 Chapman, Pleasant T., 202, 210, 213.
 Chase, Salmon P., 15, 27, 72, 78, 79, 84.
 Chapman, Theodore 165
 Chetlain, General A. L., 107, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146.
 Childs, Robert A. 172, 173
 Chipfield, B. M. 225
 Church, Chester W. 223, 229
 Church, Lawrence S. 82
 Church, Selden M. 31, 90
 Claggett, Bernard J. 175, 176
 Clark, John 33
 Clark, R. B. 225
 Clark, Robert D. 232
 Clay, Cassius M. 37
 Clay, Henry, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, 46, 48, 56, 66, 72, 76, 171.
 Clements, Isaac 118, 126, 137
 Cleveland, Grover, 87, 153, 154, 163, 164, 172, 173, 175, 186.
 Cochems, Henry J. 232
 Cochran, William G. 167
 Cochran, John 94
 Cockrell, James 170
 Coddling, Ichabod 20
 Colfax, Schuyler, 103, 106, 115
 Collamer, Jacob 78, 79
 Collins, John 202
 Collins, Loren C., Jr. 149, 151
 Conger, Senator 140
 Conkling, Roscoe, 127, 135, 139, 141, 153.
 Conn, George W. 219
 Coon, A. B. 114, 138
 Cook, Burton C., 28, 75, 82, 93, 95, 100, 104, 108, 151.
 Cooke, Edward D. 176, 182
 Connolly, James A., 151, 163, 176, 182.
 Coolbaugh, W. F. 119
 Cooper, Peter 128, 129
 Copley, Ira C., 219, 220, 225, 231
 Copp, Uriah 152
 Corwin, Franklin, 100, 101, 105, 117, 126.
 Cox, Jesse 171
 Coy, Winfield S. 126
 Crafts, Wilbur F., 165, 169, 173
 Cranfield, James B. 171
 Crawford, Monroe C., 152, 180
 Crebs, Colonel John M., 99, 104, 108.
 Creighton, Jacob R. 164
 Cronkite, Edward L. 132, 155
 Crowley, Joseph B., 189, 193, 196
 Cullom, Shelby M., 80, 82, 85, 95, 99, 100, 104, 114, 115, 121, 122, 124, 125, 129, 139, 142, 144, 147, 149, 151, 153, 160, 166, 177, 178, 179, 181, 184, 188, 189, 190, 191, 194, 195, 200, 201, 208, 210, 216, 217, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227.
 Cummins, Senator 233
 Curtis, Benjamin R. 39
 Curtis, Edward C. 133
 Curtis, William Eleroy 24
 Cusack, Thomas 188, 189

 Dane, Nathan 3
 Daniel, William 153
 Daugherty, E. C. 30
 Davies, Edgar T. 212

- Davis, David, 75, 78, 112, 113,
 116, 118, 130, 131, 133, 149,
 162, 226, 227.
 Davis, George R., 133, 142, 148,
 151, 177.
 Davis, Henry Gassoway 201
 Davis, Jefferson 33, 34, 125
 Davis, J. McCann, 157, 212, 222
 Dawes, Charles E., 178, 179, 190
 Day, W. R. 189
 Dayton, William L., 85, 78, 79
 Decker, Phillip 235
 Delegates national convention,
 1860, 75; 1864, 93; 1868, 102;
 1872, 114; 1876, 125-126; 1880,
 137, 139; 1884, 151-152; 1912,
 231.
 Dement, Henry D. 139, 151
 Deneen, Charles S., 199, 200, 202,
 203, 204, 205, 207, 208, 212,
 213, 214, 218, 220, 222, 224,
 228, 229, 231, 234, 235.
 Depew, Chauncey M. 164
 Dewey, Chauncey, 225, 231, 234
 Dickey, Colonel T. Lyle 99
 Dickson, Frank L. 202
 Dillingham, Senator 217
 Dixon, Archibald 16, 17, 18
 Dixon, Charles G. 171
 Dixon, Joseph W. 234
 Diston, W. L. 179
 Dobbins, Fletcher 235
 Dodge, Augustus C. 16
 Donelson, Andrew J. 35
 Doelling, Frank E. 201
 Dougherty, John, 70, 102, 105,
 115.
 Dougherty, Michael J. 152
 Douglas, Stephen A., 16, 17, 18,
 24, 26, 27, 35, 37, 39, 41, 42,
 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50,
 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58,
 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66,
 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 79,
 80, 82, 83, 85, 86, 90, 159,
 171, 226, 227.
 Doyle, C. J. 225, 229
 Downing, Finis E., 176, 177, 180
 Drew, Samuel J. 212
 Dubois, Jesse K., 34, 74, 75, 92,
 101, 102, 113.
 Du Bois, Senator 180
 Duddleston, George 195
 Dudley, Edward A. 31
 Dunham, R. W. 148, 155, 161
 Dunlap, M. F. 191
 Dunlap, Willard E. 188
 Dunne, Edward P. 227
 Durborow, A. C., Jr., 168, 172
 Durfee, Bradford K. 147
 Early, John 121, 124
 Eastman, Zebina 23
 Eden, John R., 89, 101, 118, 123,
 129, 155.
 Edmunds, George F., 136, 141,
 152.
 Edsall, James K., 114, 125, 129
 Edwards, N. T. 176
 Edwards, Richard, 160, 161, 163
 Ellwood, Reuben 148, 197
 Emerich, Martin 196
 Emerson, Dr. 35
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo 71
 Emmerson, Louis L. 222, 231
 English, W. H. 43, 142
 Enos, C. W. 152
 Etter, Samuel M., 122, 123, 132,
 133.
 Evans, H. Clay 186
 Evans, Dr. John 31
 Evans, J. W. 140
 Evans, Lyndon 220
 Everts, William M. 73
 Everett, Edward 80
 Fairbanks, Charles W., 180, 201
 Farnsworth, John F., 32, 71, 80,
 89, 95, 100, 104, 108, 120, 123
 Farwell, Charles B., 108, 117,
 123, 124, 125, 136, 142, 162,
 169.
 Farwell, John V. 92, 162
 Faxon, Charles 30
 Feeley, John J. 193
 Feins, Charles 108
 Fell, Jesse 130
 Felter, James S. 171
 Fenton, Reuben E. 103
 Ferry, E. P. 23, 93
 Ferns, Thomas F. 201
 Fessenden, W. P. 14
 Field, James G. 171
 Fifer, Joseph W., 152, 163, 164,
 166, 167, 170, 172, 181, 191,
 228.
 Fillmore, Millard, 13, 16, 35, 36
 Finerty, John F. 148
 Fisher, George W. 212
 Fisher, Hendrick V. 183
 Fisk, Clinton B. 164
 Fithian, George W., 165, 169, 172
 Fletcher, Senator 217
 Flint, C. C. 25
 Foote, Rev. Hiram 95
 Foote, Rev. Horatio 95
 Fondy, William 70
 Ford, A. N. 30
 Forman, William S., 165, 169,
 172.
 Forsythe, A. P. 133
 Fort, Greenbury L., 117, 123,
 129, 133, 139.
 Foss, George Edmund, 176, 182,
 189, 193, 194, 196, 202, 210,
 212, 213, 220, 225.
 Foster, George P., 188, 189, 193,
 196.
 Foster, Martin D., 210, 213, 220
 Fouke, Phillip B. 81
 Fowler, Dr. Edwin 99

- Fowler, H. Robert 220
 Franklin, Dean 235
 Fremont, John C. 35, 36, 94
 French A. C. 71
 Fuller, General Allen C., 76, 81,
 92, 97, 105, 106, 109, 126, 128
 Fuller, Charles E., 151, 155, 157,
 161, 179, 196, 199, 202, 210,
 213, 220, 221, 225.
 Fuller, Melville W. 87
 Fulton, Arthur W. 225
 Funk, B. F. 172, 173
 Funk, C. S. 216
 Funk, Frank H. 235
 Gage, Lyman J. 185, 186
 Gallagher, Thomas 213, 220
 Gamble, Senator 217
 Gansbergen, F. H. 319
 Garfield, James A., 1, 141, 142,
 146, 148, 185.
 Garrison, William Lloyd, 7, 84
 Gartenstein, J. 225
 Gest, William G. 161, 165
 Giddings, Joshua R. 27
 Gill, Joseph B. 170
 Gillespie, Joseph 31, 75
 Gilmer, Ulrich Z. 160, 161
 Glenn, Archibald A. 124, 126
 Goldzier, Julius 172
 Goodhue, Benjamin W. 153
 Gore, David 122, 170
 Gorin, J. A. 132
 Graff, Joseph V., 176, 182, 189,
 193, 194, 196, 202, 210, 213
 Graham, James M. 213, 220
 Grant, Ulysses S., 81, 84, 94, 99,
 102, 103, 104, 106, 109, 112,
 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 124,
 135, 136, 137, 140, 141, 142,
 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 185,
 190, 226.
 Greeley, Horace, 43, 78, 112, 113,
 116, 117.
 Gresham, Walter Q., 163, 164,
 185, 186.
 Grimshaw, Jackson 74
 Gross, Jacob 151
 Grote, Caroline 209
 Gundlack, George 126
 Gwin, John N. 153
 Hacker, William A. 87, 93
 Hadley, W. F. L. 177
 Haines, E. M. 124, 155, 158
 Hall, Frank H. 132, 133, 148
 Hall, Ross C. 212
 Hall, William 16
 Hamilton, Alexander, 1, 46, 47,
 236.
 Hamilton, John M., 139, 149,
 150, 151, 154, 162, 181.
 Hamilton, Richard Jones 85
 Hamlin, Hannibal 79
 Hamlin, H. J., 187, 191, 199, 200
 Hancock, Winfield Scott, 141,
 142.
 Hanecy, Elbridge 190, 191
 Hanks, John 77
 Hanna, B. J. F. 33
 Hanna, Mark 178, 186
 Hardin, John J. 76
 Harding, Abner C. 33, 95, 100
 Harlow, George H. 114, 135
 Harmon, Lawrence 140
 Harper, Jesse, 152, 171
 Harris, Charles M. 89
 Harris, Thomas L. 27, 71, 76
 Harrison, Benjamin, 164, 165,
 166, 171.
 Harrison, Carter, 123, 129, 152,
 154, 155, 164.
 Hartley, Alphaus K. 219, 220
 Hartranft, John A. 127
 Harts, David H. 164
 Hartzell, William 123, 129
 Hatch, Ozias M., 34, 73, 75, 113
 Hay, John 189, 201
 Hay, John B. 104, 108
 Hay, Milton 189
 Hayes, Philip C. 129, 133
 Hayes, Rutherford B., 127, 128,
 129, 131.
 Hayes, Samuel Snowden 108
 Hawes, Kirk 136, 137
 Hawk, R. M. A., 133, 142, 209
 Hawley, Edgar C. 173
 Hawley, John B., 104, 108, 117,
 126, 139.
 Hayne, Senator 46
 Heimberger, Herman R. 233
 Helm, Senator 216
 Henderson, Thomas J., 32, 80,
 102, 123, 129, 133, 142, 148,
 149, 155, 161, 162, 165, 169,
 172, 173.
 Hendricks, Thomas A., 128, 153
 Herman, W. G. 235
 Herndon, William H., 24, 26, 31,
 34.
 Herrington, James 133
 Hertz, Henry L. 170, 179
 Hildrup, Jesse S. 102, 109
 Hill, Benjamin H. 125, 126
 Hill, Charles A. 165
 Hill, S. C. 171
 Hilton, Howard O. 179
 Hines, Edward 216
 Hlnrichsen, William H., 170, 182
 Hise, John 93, 126
 Hitchcock, Charles 107
 Hitt, Robert R., 148, 155, 161,
 165, 168, 172, 173, 178, 182,
 184, 189, 193, 194, 195, 196,
 201, 202, 209.
 Hobart, Garret A. 40
 Hobbs, J. B. 152
 Hoffman, Francis A., 34, 35, 75,
 93, 113.
 Hoffman, George R. S. 212
 Holstlaw, Senator 215, 216
 Hooton, M. M. 126
 Hope, T. M. 78

- Hopkins, Albert J., 152, 155, 161,
 165, 168, 170, 172, 173, 176,
 179, 182, 184, 189, 191, 193,
 194, 196, 197, 200, 211, 212,
 213, 214, 218.
 Hopkins, Kate 132
 Howe, Julia Ward 237
 Hoy, Luman T. 199
 Hoyt, O. W. 219
 Hunt, George 136, 151, 163
 Hunter, Andrew J., 170, 172, 182
 Hunter, David 169
 Hurburgh, Charles F. 222, 223
 Huribut, Stephen A., 21, 22, 32,
 80, 82, 83, 102, 106, 117, 123,
 127, 128, 132, 135, 136, 139,
 148.
 Ingersoll, Eben C., 89, 95, 100,
 104.
 Ingersoll, Robert G., 77, 80, 81,
 94, 95, 101, 102, 125, 127, 148,
 190.
 Inglis, Samuel M. 176
 Ingram, W. T. 140
 Irwin, A. B. 152
 Irwin, John G. 148
 Jackson, Andrew 46
 James, William A. 133
 Jayne, Dr. William 77, 152
 Jefferson, Thomas, 1, 46, 47, 51,
 236.
 Jeffris, Ralph 212
 Jett, Thomas M., 182, 189, 193
 Jewell, Marshall 127
 Johnson, Andrew, 28, 94, 99, 103,
 110, 111, 185.
 Johnson, Hale 152
 Johnson, Herschel V. 80
 Johnson, Hiram W. 234
 Johnson, Senator, 217
 Jones, Senator 217
 Jones, Walter C. 222, 223
 Jones, Willis J. 164
 Joy, James F. 141
 Judd, Norman B., 28, 74, 75, 78,
 100, 104.
 Judd, S. Corning 93
 Juul, Niels 225
 Kellogg, William 71, 80, 81
 Kellogg, William Pitt, 32, 76, 80
 Kennedy, John C. 227
 Kenyon, Senator 217
 Kern, Frederick J. 193
 Kern, John W. 211, 217
 Ketcham, John H. 193
 Killam, John T. 171
 King, Tuthill 26
 Kinney, James 212
 Knapp, Anthony L. 89
 Knapp, Robert M., 117, 118, 129
 Knight, Thomas D. 212
 Knox, James 27
 Knopf, Philip 196, 202, 210
 Koerner, Gustavus, 31, 32, 75,
 102, 109, 113, 117.
 Kuykendall, A. J. 92, 95
 La Follette, R. M., 216, 224, 232,
 233.
 Lamon, Ward H. 74, 83
 Lamont, James 161, 171
 Lamphier, C. H. 113
 Landes, Silas Z. 155, 161
 Lane, Edward, 161, 165, 169, 172
 Lane, Joseph, 80
 Lathrop, Julia C. 228
 Lathrop, William 129, 228
 Lawler, Frank, 155, 161, 165
 Lawler, Thomas G. 186
 Lawrence, Judge C. B. 122
 Lawrence, Luther W. 87, 90
 Lee, Robert E. 99, 103
 Lee, Senator 217
 Leeper, Arthur 157
 Leman, Henry W. 154
 Le Moyne, John V. 124, 162
 Lewis, John H. 142
 Lincoln, Abraham, 20, 24, 25,
 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35,
 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50,
 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59,
 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68,
 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76,
 77, 78, 79, 80, 83, 84, 85, 88,
 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 105,
 110, 130, 185, 189, 190, 197,
 226, 227, 238.
 Lincoln, Robert T., 140, 148,
 171, 185.
 Lindly, Cicero J. 152
 Link, Michael S. 215
 Link, Robert R. 171
 Lippincott, Charles E., 100, 102,
 114, 132.
 Littler, David T. 137, 161
 Lodge, Henry Cabot 201
 Logan, Dr. John 153
 Logan, John A., 26, 80, 81, 86,
 90, 99, 100, 102, 103, 104, 107,
 108, 109, 120, 130, 131, 132,
 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 145,
 151, 153, 154, 156, 158, 159,
 160, 162, 226, 227.
 Logan, Robert B., 139, 140, 157
 Logan, Stephen T., 26, 75, 82,
 113, 114.
 Loop, James L. 21, 22
 Lorimer, William, 176, 182, 188,
 196, 202, 209, 213, 214, 215,
 216, 217, 218, 222, 223.
 Lovejoy, Owen, 25, 26, 32, 34,
 71, 77, 80, 81, 89, 95.
 Lowden, Frank O., 199, 200, 202,
 210, 213, 219.
 Lowell, James Russell 84
 Lundin, Fred 213
 Lynch, Edmund 126
 Lynch, William F. 212

- McAndrews, James193, 196
 McCann, Bert H.212
 McCartney, James140
 McClellan, George B.95
 McClelland, John A., 80, 81, 99, 128.
 McClun, John E.25
 McCormick, Medill234
 McCullough, James S., 179, 191, 200, 212, 223, 225.
 McDannold, John J.172
 McDermott, James T., 209, 210, 213, 220.
 McDonough, Michael171
 McElroy, John171
 McGann, L. E., 163, 172, 176, 177.
 McGavin, Charles202, 210
 McGovern, Governor, 232, 233
 McKenzle, John C., 196, 219, 220, 225.
 McKinlay, Robert L.152
 McKinley, William, 171, 178, 179, 180, 182, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 192, 193, 209, 226, 236.
 McKinley, William B., 202, 210, 213, 220, 225.
 McKinney, James, 202, 210, 213, 220
 McLaughlin, Daniel148
 McLean, John79
 McMillan, Thomas C.163
 McMurdy, William77
 McNeely, T. W.104, 108
 McNeill, Major Quincy87
 McNulta, John, 117, 137, 163, 168.
 Mac Veagh, Franklin, 176, 177
 Madden, Martin B., 184, 202, 209, 213, 220, 225, 231.
 Madison, James51
 Magill, Hugh S.223
 Maher, Hugh78
 Mahoney, William F., 193, 196
 Mamer, Christopher212
 Mann, James R., 182, 188, 193, 194, 196, 202, 209, 213, 220, 225.
 Marsh, Benjamin F., 129, 133, 142, 172, 173, 176, 182, 189, 196, 202.
 Marsh, C. W.137, 138, 139
 Marshall, J. H.33
 Marshall, Samuel S., 27, 71, 82, 95, 100, 104, 108, 118.
 Marshall, Thomas R.235
 Marshall Thomas S.171
 Mason, William E., 161, 165, 184, 186, 188, 196, 212, 225
 Martin, James S.118
 Matteson, Joel A.23
 Matthews, Asa C., 165, 166, 167
 Matthews, Milton W.169
 Maxwell, A. L.180
 Mazzini46
 Meacham, U. D.22
 Medill, Joseph, 32, 107, 135, 177
 Mesick, Joseph B.161
 Metcalf, A. W.137
 Michalek, Anthony202
 Mickey, J. Ross193
 Miller, Edward E.232
 Miller, James34, 44, 70
 Miller, James H.167
 Miller, Stephen9
 Mills, Daniel W.182
 Miner, Orlin H.92
 Mitchell, Edward E.219, 220
 Mitchell, Thomas F.133
 Moloney, Maurice T.170
 Monroe, James15
 Moore, Hosea H.169, 170
 Moore, Jesse H.104, 108
 Moore, John35
 Morris, Isaac N.71
 Morrison, Isaac L.133
 Morrison, William R., 80, 89, 118, 123, 129, 133, 142, 149, 155, 156, 158, 162.
 Morton, Levi P., 163, 164, 165, 180.
 Morton, Oliver P.127
 Moses, John29, 34, 114, 126
 Moulton, Samuel W., 92, 95, 101, 102, 142, 149.
 Mount, John B.212
 Murphy, Everet J.176
 Napoleon, I.72, 103
 Nast, Thomas116
 Neece, William H.149, 155
 Needles, Thomas B.125
 Newberry, Walter C.163
 Noe, Samuel D.171
 Nicolay, John G., 30, 94, 189
 Noonan, Edward T.183, 189
 Northcott, William A., 179, 191
 Norton, Jesse O.23, 27, 89
 Noyes, LaVerne W.234
 Oberly, John H.140
 O'Brien, William101
 O'Connor, Charles116
 O'Donnell, James F.191
 Ogden, W. B.31
 Oglesby, Richard J., 31, 32, 77, 80, 92, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 104, 105, 109, 114, 115, 116, 117, 119, 120, 132, 133, 134, 149, 151, 154, 155, 159, 170, 181, 190, 212, 226, 227.
 Oglesby, John G., 212, 223, 225
 O'Hara, Daniel113
 Oldt, Franklin T.160, 161
 Ostewig, Kinnie A.232
 Orendorf, Alfred148, 152
 Pace, Edward C.180
 Paddock, James H.182
 Palmer, John M., 26, 28, 32, 33, 34, 76, 80, 82, 92, 100, 101,

Index

246

102, 104, 105, 106, 113, 118,	Reece, Jasper N.	163
130, 131, 149, 159, 164, 166,	Reeder, Andrew 40, 41	
168, 170, 181, 184, 226, 227	Reed, Thomas B., 171, 178, 180	
Parks, G. D. A. 31, 33	Regan, Frank S. 223	
Parker, Alton B. 201, 202	Reid, Frank R. 171	
Parker, Theodore 7, 14, 60	Reid, Whitelaw 176, 177	
Parsons, George B. 191	Remann, Frederick 163	
Parsons, Lewis B. 140	Reeves, E. F. 71	
Patton, Robert H. 202	Reeves, Walter, 176, 182, 189,	
Payson, Charles W., 137, 163, 170	190, 191, 193, 194.	
Payson, Lewis E., 142, 149, 155,	Reynolds, John 108	
161, 162, 165.	Rice, Edward Y. 117	
Pearson, I. N. 163, 170	Rice, John B. 27, 35,	
Peck, Ebenezer 74	Richardson, William A., 27, 35,	
Pemberton, Stanton C. 210	80, 81, 91, 97.	
Pendleton, George H. 212	Ricker, Henry Francis J., 160,	
Perry, Elmer A. 152	161.	
Perryman, James L. 235	Ricks, N. Douglas 164	
Peterson, E. O. 180	Ridgely, Charles 108	
Pettigrew, Senator 83	Ridgway, Thomas S., 102, 122,	
Pettigru, James L. 67	123, 125, 139, 152.	
Petit, Senator 31, 33	Riggs, James M. 149, 155	
Phillips, D. L. 99,	Rinaker, John I., 115, 126, 139,	
Phillips, General Jesse J., 99,	152, 163, 177.	
101.	Rives, Zeno S. 202	
Phillips, Wendell 7, 84	Roberts, Lavina E. 176	
Pickering, John L. 212	Roberts, Ralph 136, 179	
Pickett, Thomas J., 80, 31, 32, 73	Roberts, J. W. 41	
Pierce, Franklin, 15, 17, 41, 45,	Robbins, Charles 81, 89, 93,	
52.	Robinson, James C., 81, 89, 93,	
Pierce, John 199, 200	103, 117, 118.	
Piotrowski, Nicholas L. 209	Rodenberg, William A., 189,	
Platt, Thomas C. 156, 161	196, 202, 210, 213, 220, 225,	
Plumb, Ralph 9, 10	78	
Polk, James K. 161, 165,	Roe, E. R. 91	
Post, Philip Sidney, 161, 177,	Rogers, J. M. 179, 191, 200,	
169, 172, 173, 176, 177.	Rose, James A., 228, 229, 230	
Powell, William H., 34, 122, 123	212, 223, 225, 228, 229, 230	
Powers, Caleb 1860, 76;	Ross, L. W., 77, 89, 95, 100.	
Presidential electors, 1860, 76;	Ross, William 33, 75	
1864, 93; 1868, 102; 1872, 114-	Ross, Theodore, 19, 189,	
115; 1876, 126; 1880, 140;	192, 200, 201, 202, 211, 213,	
1884, 152; 1912, 227.	215, 224, 228, 232, 233, 234,	
Prince, George W., 170, 177,	235.	
182, 189, 193, 194, 195, 196,	Root, Elihu 201, 232, 233	
202, 210, 213, 220, 225.	Root, James P. 99, 101, 105	
Pugh, I. C. 31	Rothermel, William E. 223	
Puterbaugh, Howell J. 176	Rowell, J. H., 149, 155, 161, 165	
Quay, Matthew S. 180	Rowett, Richard 137	
Rabb, Henry, 148, 163, 169, 176	Rowley, General 145	
Rainey, Henry T., 196, 202, 210,	Ruggles, James M. 102, 113	
213, 220.	Rummel, Edward 203, 212, 223,	
Ralston, V. Y. 30	225.	
Ramsey, Rufus N. 170	Rutz, Edward 114, 125, 140	
Randolph, John F. 176	Sabath, Adolph J., 209, 210, 213,	
Raum, Green B., 80, 99, 100, 126,	220.	
136, 137, 139, 149, 162.	Sanford, John F. A. 33	
Rausch, J. W. 230	Schneider, George 30, 75, 140	
Rawlins, John A., 80, 81, 107,	Schofield, General 185	
185.	Schurz, Carl 112	
Ray, Dr. Charles H. 30	Schurz, Dred 169	
Ray, Lyman B., 163, 166, 170	Scott, Owen 225	
Ray, William H. 117	Scott, Charles J. 152	
Raymond, Charles W. 179	Searle, Henry 29, 30	
	Selter, Henry 117	
	Selby, Paul 117	

- Selby, Thomas Jefferson193
 Seward, W. H., 14, 72, 78, 79, 84, 171.
 Sewell, Arthur181
 Sexton, Austin O.149
 Seymour, Horatio104
 Shannon, Governor41
 Shannon, John R.101
 Shaw, Aaron71, 149
 Shaw, B. F.30
 Shaw, James114, 130, 133
 Shaw, J. Henry157
 Sheldon, C. W.21
 Sheldon, Porter87, 88
 Shepard, Daniel,132, 157
 Sheridan General P. H.84
 Sherman, James S.211, 234
 Sherman, John, 136, 141, 151, 153, 164.
 Sherman, Lawrence Y., 190, 194, 199, 200, 203, 204, 223, 224, 231.
 Sherman, General W. T.84
 Sherwin, John C.133, 143
 Shields, James28, 48, 113
 Shuman, Andrew, 125, 130, 152
 Shumway, George212
 Shurtleff, Edward D., 202, 203, 210, 214.
 Sims, fugitive slave14
 Singleton, James W., 133, 142
 Slade, James P.132
 Small, Len, 200, 222, 223, 224, 231, 232.
 Smith, Abraham E.186
 Smith, Dietrich C.142
 Smith, Garret115
 Smith, F. H.225
 Smith, Frank L.212
 Smith, George A.223
 Smith, General George W.99
 Smith, George W., 165, 169, 172, 173, 176, 177, 182, 189, 194, 196, 202, 210.
 Smith, General John C., 114, 132, 139, 148, 151, 156, 163
 Smith, Robert71
 Smulski, John F.208, 209
 Snapp, Howard M., 196, 202, 210, 213.
 Snell, Thomas78
 Snively, C. E.232
 Snow, Herman W.169
 Snyder, William H.35, 109
 Spangler, Reuben E.201
 Sparks, William A. J., 123, 129, 133, 142.
 Springer, William M., 87, 123, 129, 133, 142, 149, 155, 161, 165, 169, 172.
 St. John, John P.153, 154
 St. Matthew, J. H.35
 Stack, Edmund J.220
 Stanton, Edwin M.92
 Starkel, Lewis C.140
 Starne, Alexander89, 93
 State central committee, 1913, 225.
 Stead, William H., 200, 212, 218, 223, 225.
 Sterling, Fred E.212, 231
 Sterling, John A., 196, 202, 210, 213, 220, 225.
 Stevens, Brad N.108
 Stevenson, A. E., 123, 133, 172, 192, 212, 213.
 Steward, Lewis, 126, 129, 168, 169.
 Stiver, Perry O.188
 Stone, Claude U.220
 Storrs, Emery A., 77, 102, 114, 132, 136, 137.
 Stowe, Harriet Beecher84
 Stratton, Charles T.148
 Streeter, A. J.140, 164, 170
 Stringer, Lawrence B., 201, 202
 Stuart, John T.78, 89
 Sumner, Charles, 7, 15, 39, 41, 42, 72, 84, 116, 117.
 Sweet, Martin P.21
 Swett, Leonard, 74, 75, 76, 78, 93, 113.
 Swigert, Charles P.140, 151
 Taft, William H., 211, 213, 224, 227, 228, 232, 233, 234, 235
 Tallmadge, James, Jr.5
 Taney, Chief Justice, 39, 45, 52, 83.
 Tanner, John R., 160, 161, 177, 179, 182, 183, 184, 188, 191, 195.
 Taylor, Abner165, 168.
 Taylor, Zachary, 11, 12, 13, 34
 Teller, Senator180
 Templeton, J. W., 212, 213, 219
 Terry, Elmer E.191
 Thistlewood, N. B., 210, 213, 220, 225.
 Thomas, Charles137
 Thomas, Charles B.201
 Thomas, Horace H.147
 Thomas, Jesse B.6
 Thomas, John R., 133, 142, 149, 155, 161.
 Thompson, J. M.140
 Thornton, Anthony95, 101
 Thornton, S. Y.126
 Throop, A. C.35
 Thurman, Allen G.164
 Thurston, John W.180
 Tillson, John33
 Tilden, Samuel J.128, 131
 Tipton, Thomas F.129, 133
 Todd, James191
 Tomkiewicz, C. J.225
 Townsend, Leon A.203
 Townshend, R. W., 129, 133, 142, 149, 155, 161, 165.
 Travis, John21
 Tree, Lambert158

- Trimble, Commander-in-Chief, 180.
- Trude, George S. 180
- Truesburg, Charles H. 185
- Trumbull, Jonathan 183
- Trumbull, Lyman, 23, 26, 27, 28, 32, 48, 50, 80, 82, 98, 100, 112, 113, 118, 119, 120, 140, 142, 182, 228, 237.
- Turner, Thomas J., 21, 82, 109
- Turney, William A. 93
- Tyler, John 8, 10
- Tyndale, Sharon 92
- Upham, Fred W. 232
- Upsher, Abel P. 8
- Usrey, W. J. 30
- Van Buren, Martin 8, 9, 12
- Van Epps, William H. 101
- Vanderwater, A. C. 153
- Van Hornebecke, Gustavus 101
- Waker, Charles H. 164
- Wade, B. F. 14, 97, 103
- Ward, James H. 155
- Ward, Jasper D. 117
- Warder, Walter 190
- Wasburne, E. B., 21, 22, 26, 27, 42, 71, 81, 89, 95, 100, 104, 106, 136, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 185.
- Washington, George, 1, 51, 238
- Watson, James 232
- Watson, Thomas E. 181
- Wayman, John E. W., 222, 224
- Warner, Vespasian, 176, 182, 189, 193, 194, 196, 199, 200.
- Weaver, James B. 171
- Weaver, John B. 141, 223
- Weaver, William H. 233
- Webster, Daniel, 8, 13, 46, 47, 60, 76, 171.
- Webster, W. G. 212, 223
- Weed, Thurlow 78
- Welch, Andrew 164
- Weldon, Lawrence, 74, 76, 113
- Wentworth, John, 32, 80, 87, 88, 95, 113, 137.
- West, A. M. 153
- West, Roy O. 225, 231
- Wharton, Charles S. 202
- Wharton, O. P. 30
- Wheeler, Hamilton K., 172, 173
- Wheeler, Jacob 157
- Wheeler, William A. 123, 131
- White, Charles A. 214
- White, George E. 176, 182
- White, Horace 113, 116
- Whitfield, Kansas territorial delegate 40
- Whitlock, H. G. 140
- Whiting, Richard H. 122
- Whitney, Eli 5
- Whittier, John G. 7, 42, 84
- Whittemore, Floyd J., 187, 188
- Wike, Scott 123, 165, 169
- Williams, Ira O. 31
- Williams, James R., 165, 169, 172, 189, 192, 196.
- Williamson, M. O. 191
- Williams, William Elza 189
- Willits, George S. 171
- Willson, Governor 229
- Wilmot, David 11, 79
- Winter, Edward 235
- Wilson, Charles L. 33
- Wilson, Henry, 2, 19, 103, 115
- Wilson, H. Clay 225
- Wilson, Richard S. 163, 169
- Wilson, William W., 196, 202, 209, 213, 220, 225.
- Wilson, Woodrow 235
- Windom, William 136, 141
- Wood, Benson 176
- Wood, John 34, 82
- Woodman, Charles W. 176
- Woodworth, James H. 23, 27
- Works, Charles A. 187
- Worrell, Edwin R. 227
- Worthington, N. E. 149, 155
- Wright, Alonzo P. 171
- Wright, Francis M. 163
- Wulfr, Jacob 176
- Yates, Henry 78
- Yates, Richard (Elder), 26, 29, 32, 33, 75, 76, 77, 80, 81, 82, 85, 86, 87, 90, 91, 92, 96, 97, 98, 103, 104, 105, 109, 159, 194, 226, 227.
- Yates, Richard (Younger), 171, 190, 191, 193, 194, 199, 200, 208, 212, 222, 224, 229.
- Zangwell, Israel 233

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